

Sandra Cvikić: “The Vukovar Battle in the Context of Public and Scholarly Discourse about Yugoslavia’s Dissolution and Homeland War in Croatia”

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to provide a starting point for a better understanding of an alternative approach to the study of modern barbarism as proposed by Meštrović. Namely, in order to advance contemporary understanding of modern barbarism, the author calls for a social inquiry into publications about the wars in the former Yugoslavia based on how and to what extent the Vukovar Battle of 1991 is studied and perceived in international and domestic literature. This frame of reference is applied here under the scrutiny of critical theory in order to enable critical assessment of the international and domestic social inquiry into modern barbarism and to introduce less restrictive and vitally more alternative approach to its understanding. It is argued that an alternative approach should be based on the qualitative research into the personal narratives as an integral part of the comprehensive understanding of modern barbarism. Based on the surveyed literature, a debate which interprets contemporary violence and wars in the former Yugoslavia is analyzed only to conclude that it neglects to understand modern barbarism.

Key words: modern barbarism, the Vukovar Battle, alternative approach, qualitative research

Introduction¹

In the background of extensive scholarly production on nationalism and violence in the former Yugoslavia, rationalization was reproduced based on social theories ranging from symbolic interactionism to constructivism, positivism and post-positivism, functionalism and neo-functionalism, critical theory, semiotics and structuralism. In the absence of qualitative research into the bloody resolution of the the Yugoslav socialist states, western intellectuals and opinion makers are involved in debates through substantive sociological engagement and relativistic interpretations which pose serious questions to the accountability of their interpretative scholarly practices. Thus, one can argue that although functional, positivist, behavioral and totalizing perspectives and sociological explanations of war in Croatia have gained substantial advantage over the last two decades; it is obvious more then ever, that this social framework lacks pluralistic, interpretative and open-ended perspectives with its point of reference in particular cultural representations and meanings of personal experience.

Frame of References

The aim of this paper is to provide a starting point for better understanding of an alternative approach to the study of modern barbarism as proposed by Meštrović.² Based on the surveyed literature, both domestic and international, a debate which interprets

¹ "The Homeland War is the generally accepted name for a recent period in Croatian history in the 1990s, when the modern Republic of Croatia was established, and then defended in the imposed war. (...) The term Homeland War refers to the following: final preparations of the Serbian aggressor for war and the realization of the main goal of Greater Serbian foreign policy of "all Serbs within one state" (in the greater part of the territory of the former Yugoslavia); unconstitutional and terrorist actions, and the arming and the armed insurgency of part of the Serbs in Croatia after mid-1990 (in military terms, a creeping or latent aggression); start of structuring of Croatian defensive forces after August 1990; start of the war and open aggression of Serbia and Montenegro – that is, of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and Serbian-Montenegrin units – on Croatia in the summer of 1991 (soon after the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia enacted on 25 June 1991 the Constitutional Decision on the Sovereignty and Independence of the Republic of Croatia); defense of the territory of the Republic of Croatia starting in 1991, and the liberation of the greater part of its provisionally occupied territory in the period between late 1991 and the end of 1995. Therefore, according to the laws of the Republic of Croatia the term Homeland War also comprises the period immediately preceding the war in Croatia, i.e., open Serbian aggression on the Republic of Croatia, and the period immediately after the end of war operation in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.", Nazor (2011): 10-11.

² Meštrović (1993).

contemporary violence and wars in former Yugoslavia is analyzed only to argue that it neglects to understand modern barbarism in Europe at the end of the 20th century. Namely, in order to advance contemporary understanding of modern barbarism, this paper calls for social inquiry into publications about the wars in the former Yugoslavia based on how and to what extent the Vukovar Battle from 1991 is studied and perceived in international and domestic literature. This frame of reference is applied here under the scrutiny of critical theory in order to enable critical assessment of the international and domestic social inquiry into modern barbarism and to introduce less restrictive and a more vital alternative approach to its understanding. It is argued that an alternative approach should be based on the qualitative research into the personal narratives as an integral part of the comprehensive understanding of modern barbarism.

For the purpose of this paper out of 904 reviewed books (published in the period 1991–2010) available to the author, 258 domestic and international publications were surveyed based on the selection criterion. Selection criterion include only one criterion - reception of the Vukovar Battle in the contemporary domestic and international popular and scholarly books on Yugoslavia's dissolution and the Homeland War in Croatia. Namely, all publications should have a section on the subject or to simply mention it on a page or two.³ Analyzed literature was available from following resources:

- Domicile book collection *Vukovarensija* in the Vukovar City Library (860 books).
- Book collection of the Multi-Media Museum of the Homeland War in Vukovar - Croatian Military Campus in Vukovar.
- Book collection in the Centre for War Crimes Investigation of the Croatian Association of Former Serbian Concentration Camp Prisoners in Vukovar.
- Publications of the Croatian Memorial-Documentation Centre of the

³ It is important to note, however, that only 8 individual articles on the Vukovar Battle published in a few domestic scholarly publications are considered in this paper because they were listed in Penava (2003) (seven articles) and in *Agressivität und Gewalt in Europa. Grenzfragen und Prüfsteiner der Integration der EU* by Heinrich Badura (one article); and collection of papers published as books on domestic interdisciplinary scientific studies of the Vukovar Battle (Appendix 1, list 6) were included due to the fact that those were at the disposal to the author.

Homeland War in Zagreb.

- Homeland War Book Collection at the National and University Library in Zagreb.
- Book collection about Yugoslavia's disintegration at the National and University Library in Zagreb.
- Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Regional Centre Vukovar – Library.
- *Vukovar's Bibliography* by Šimun Penava.⁴

In order to overcome limitations of this paper and to provide a workable framework to critically analyze surveyed literature, 258 works were organized through hereby proposed typology:

1. International popular and scholarly work on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia.
2. Domestic popular and scholarly work on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia.
3. Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Croatia: biographies, memoirs, monographic editions.
4. Domestic interdisciplinary scientific studies of the Vukovar Battle.
5. Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Vukovar 1991: memoirs and monographic editions.
6. Vukovar 1991 personal narrations: autobiographies and diaries.

Surveyed literature is listed under the above proposed typology and not a single book is presented in more than one typology. Therefore, the findings of the conducted research are based on this typology and selection criterion, and they are used to support the aim of this paper and scholarly argument.

Debating social theory of modernity and modern barbarism

Abstract and conceptually structured theories of modernity are impregnated by discursive constructions of the social as they neglect the interconnections between the personal and social. Therefore, the late 1990s have asked for a more structural level of analysis and social research into the reality of everyday lives through emancipatory tools.

⁴ Penava (2003): 714-28.

According to Meštrović⁵ cultural nexus per se provides a diametrically opposite approach to modernity, progress, history and science. Therefore, he advocates a unique blend of critical theory rooted in sociology and philosophy. His approach converges with Schopenhauer's assumption that modern society is infinitely impregnated by the fragmentation of meaning which is a result of a disrupted social order by the enlightened will. It is evident so far, that scholarly discourse should develop a new dialectic of 21st fin de siècle narratives which would in return redirect social inquiry to follow the path of a true understanding of modern barbarism.

Modernist interpretative work on violence, aggression and wars, is to produce a new mode of narratives in line with metaphysical, oral and social issues that pertain to all sorts of destruction, because Parsonian misconstrued positive tendencies have already become scientific habits. According to Meštrović,⁶ scholarly habits of the contemporary scholarly discourse and narratives should therefore transform itself into new trajectories of reading. At the same time, they should be developed by sociologists as artists because, according to Meštrović, the world revolves around human consciousness, and not the other way around. Reality is a mechanical reflection that lies in the realm of humanity which is determined by its consciousness and conscience. The empirical ethics of contemporary morality therefore is to be studied against the background of human actions developed and deeply rooted in people's historical, political, state and social relations, and in return result in specific, real, material and ethical values. If a man based on his reason is an autonomous legislator of his action then the shifting boundaries between history and sociology thereby involve principles which can off-load collective responsibilities through selective targeting of resources. At the same time, they can raise questions related to reliability, subjectivity and representativeness of the personal accounts status.⁷ One can concur therefore with Meštrović, and accept the fact that the contemporary modern and civilized man is simultaneously "*more polished and potentially more savage compared to our ancestors*"; as he is in constant search for "*new images devoid of*

⁵ Meštrović (1993).

⁶ Meštrović (1993).

⁷ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000).

context”, which is “*infantile and barbaric*”.⁸

A grounding or reference for comprehensive sociological discourse today implies that all the claims related to civilized and enlightened social life should engage subjective affinities and narratives. As Meštrović⁹ points out and rightly so, contemporary sociology is crippled. There is a gap between two poles of the social sciences scholarly discourse on contemporary social life and societies – objective and subjective. The objective pole is concerned solely with perpetuation of the everlasting faith in a priori universal reason presented in positivist scientific narratives which neglect the social grounding of culture and therefore is reduced to an inexplicable ideology. On the other side, subjective pole is engaged in cultural relativist narratives and, thereby, becomes grounded in complex social traits that can never produce truths, obstructing the social inquiry into the systematic nature of social change in modern society. More than ever, contemporary 21st century humankind is faced with more, not less, aggression, violence and wars in so-called modern civilized societies.¹⁰ One can argue that, apart from the underdeveloped societies of the world, raised in the comfortable conformist state of oblivion, developed modern societies of the West flourish with constant stress, uncertainty and induced fear only to realize that modernist positivist models of development have failed so far to eradicate irrational manifestations of the will.

Scholarly narratives and contemporary social research should therefore focus on sources of inexorable tension between different levels and aspects of the human condition if one is to understand and unravel grounding of social facts related to modern barbarism. The Modernist concern with collective memory, thus indicating more than ever that problems of the past are not resolved. Issues transgress and they are transferred through particular remnants of the barbaric acts into the present which proves: “*the fact that past representations (memories, for instance) may coexist with present ones.*”¹¹ Life-event experiences compiled over the time are transformed either to personal, or collective traumas, and they represent a mechanical problem that

⁸ Meštrović (1993): 100-09.

⁹ Meštrović (1993).

¹⁰ Malešević (2011).

¹¹ Meštrović (1993): 157.

needs to be solved for the sake of progress and social order. Therefore, raw egoism of the modernist narratives produces neo-liberal instant solutions unable to deal with memories of violence, injustice and war - in general - with modern barbarism. Production of such scientifically engineered oversimplifications of modern barbarism can no longer sustain a long professed idea and belief that barbaric human traits will wear away tamed by human rights, social norms and humanistic values as our Western civilization progresses. It is evident, more than ever, as indicated by Meštrović,¹² that contemporary scholarly reasoning requires fin de siècle narrative typical of Durkheim, Veblen, Freud, and Simmel in order to sustain a comprehensive understanding of the constitutional duality of human nature inherent in the modern barbarism. Today, a modernist view of the world is universally valid, and thereby it claims to have upper hand on contemporary savagery through a We – They distinction: ‘We’ are civilized and ‘They’ are barbaric.¹³ The moral frame¹⁴ of reference in line with modernist We-They divide poses serious limitations to empirical methodology of social sciences research especially when it neglects the qualitative social inquiry into spreading violence, war and terrorism. Today’s faith in science bears witness to the facts that cannot speak for themselves as they require workable theoretical grounds for meaningful scientific discussion.

Modern barbarism as fiction – conceptually trapped and fragmented meaning

International scholars have predominantly used in their works the Vukovar violence as unavoidable historical fact without additional research into the subject and its relevance for better understanding of contemporary barbarism. Such scientific truth related to contemporary fragmented barbaric reality according to Meštrović, begs the question whether Veblen was right when he claimed that modern civilization is actually a latter-day barbarism. Contemporary barbarism elaborated in international popular and scholarly publications on Yugoslavia’s dissolution and war in Croatia is above all severed by positivist social constructions of reality. Namely, authors¹⁵ were not able to integrate

¹² Meštrović (1991).

¹³ Meštrović (1993): 29.

¹⁴ Ramet (2005).

¹⁵ Appendix 1, list 1.

different cultural perspectives of the nations involved in the conflict because the rationale for the war they constructed was moulded into oversimplified primordial concepts of personal and collective representations inherent in modern Western culture. The Vukovar siege and Yugoslavia's war of disintegration, therefore, pose a serious question as to the validity of positivist normative program and empirical constitution of the social inquiry into the persistence of simultaneous barbaric temperaments and social problems in the contemporary world.¹⁶

Surveyed international popular and scholarly literature on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia refer to the Vukovar Battle in 41 publications.¹⁷ Reference to the battle is provided in two ways:

1. As a whole section in the chapter
- or
2. It is randomly mentioned on a page or two.¹⁸

Almost 90% (36 books out of 41) books refer to the subject randomly on a page or two; and only five publications (devoting a whole section to the Vukovar Battle) considered it a subject worth enough perusing further down the line of scientific investigation and meaningful interpretation. Based on the reduced number of representations of Vukovar's tragedy, it can be therefore, argued that the contingency of meaning in the above international discursive constitution of scholarly inquiry into Yugoslavia's violent disintegration and war in Croatia, confirms Meštrović's assumption that contemporary temperaments and later-day barbarism is vastly oversimplified by the social theory framework of interpretations and it is stripped to its bare minimum. Such discursive constitution of the international scholarly works on Yugoslavia's wars indicate the low level of public and scholarly interest in modern barbarism and/or the authors' inability to apply Vukovar's tragedy in such a way to improve its contemporary understanding.

A contemporary positivist approach which tends to break up facts and put them back together in a strong blend that appears to be true and credible in order to produce scientific accounts of Yugoslavia's war

¹⁶ Meštrović (1991); (1993); (1998).

¹⁷ Appendix 1, list 1.

¹⁸ Appendix 2: table 1.

events, according to Ramet, Cushman and Meštrović, has become a scholarly production of conflict situations which risked penetrating into the historical representations of the recent past. According to Ramet, the application of a positivist approach in the social research of Yugoslavia's disintegration was therefore, more prone to achieve culturally prescribed goals rather than develop sensitivity to contrary points of view when faced with modern barbarism and violence in Croatia.¹⁹ Thus, in their efforts to intellectually comprehend the extent of war crimes committed in Vukovar, western scholars in their research of modern barbarism rarely consider culturally shaped habits, customs, social character and the characteristics of ethnic groups as a rational part of everyday life. Barbarism in the bloody dissolution of Yugoslavia has therefore redirected scholars' attention towards issues thought to be long extinct in Europe – ethnicity, nationalism, racism, xenophobia, genocide and war. Therefore, one can claim that the savagery of Vukovar Battle can shift social scientific interpretations of modern barbarism away from the direction of positivist reasoning and present-day compartmentalization between social research and validity which quite often leads to a conceptual trap.²⁰

This conceptual trap, according to Meštrović is contingent with meaning that has “*matured into the fragmentation of meaning*” leading one to conclude that social life implies various types of representations and interpretations of barbarism. Applied through public media and modern communication tools, new representations and interpretations of barbarism transform information into commodity consumed by socialized and more civilized twentieth-century humanity.²¹ The majority of international popular and scholarly work on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia analyzed in this paper based on its reference to the Vukovar Battle are characterized by modern fragmentation of meaning and can only be understood as fiction unable to provide viable scientific truth contributing to a better understanding of modern barbarism because it can never get beyond the representation of one thing after another.²²

¹⁹ Ramet (2005).

²⁰ Meštrović (1993).

²¹ Meštrović (1993): 43.

²² Meštrović (1993).

Reminiscence of the recent past and modern barbarism

Reminiscence of the recent past captured by Croatian narratives on Yugoslavia's disintegration and war in Croatia²³ bears the mark of the contemporary tendency to limit itself to rational intellectual persuasions which simultaneously reflects the wartime past and the obsolescence of the Vukovar Battle in Croatian collective memory. The obsolescence of this battle in the contemporary collective memory can be traced through the extensive Croatian popular and scholarly publications in the last twenty years.²⁴ Thirty-two analyzed books represent narratives which mention or elaborate to a certain extent on the Vukovar Battle - randomly on one or more pages or sections. Domestic popular and scholarly work on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia neglects to elaborate, however, more on the social context, moral and ethical relevance to the modern understanding of the battle in the contemporary Croatian society and its contribution for a better understanding of barbarism. Surveyed literature based on the two fold selection criterion extends its interest on the Vukovar Battle predominantly (18 out of 32) on a page or two quite similar to the international publications stating the obvious – a historical fact. The remaining 14 publications devote a whole section related to the war events and/or atrocities committed in Ovčara.²⁵ Facts related to the chronology of events in the Vukovar Battle, expressed through randomly mentioned sentences or in sections, indicate to what extent the level of perceived relevance is significant for the understanding of this modern barbaric phenomenon in contemporary Croatian society.

Therefore, one can claim that what is to be found underneath the reorientation of a society's habitual practices of a new modern democratic Croatia is limited to its rational intellectual debates which reflect the recent wartime past without an effort to explain and/or understand the grounding causal relationships which constitutes the Vukovar tragedy as a founding pillar of the Croatian independent state. Persistent character traits of the Croatian democratic and patriotic

²³ Appendix 1, list 2.

²⁴ Appendix 1, list 2.

²⁵ The Ovčara farm is a place where one of the first atrocities during Serbian aggression on Croatia was committed by the Yugoslav People's Army. On November 20, 1991, 266 wounded civilians and defenders and medical staff (20) were executed on the farm and buried in a trench. 200 bodies in the age between 16 and 72, were exhumed from this mass grave in September and October 1996, Nazor (2011): 105.

ideals²⁶ that have deeply impregnated the social interpretation of the Vukovar Battle in before mentioned domestic literature on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia, are more prone to achieve culturally prescribed goals rather than develop scholarly discourse as an inquiry into the systematic nature of social change in contemporary Croatian society. Analyzed books indicate the authors selective targeting of the Vukovar war events thus obstructing the social inquiry into the complex structure of committed violence and crimes. The significance and the moral value of the human suffering in the Vukovar Battle is reduced to sentences and sections that does not develop sensitivity for the subject nor define relevant historical meaning for the Croatian collective memory today. It could be inferred that this kind of domestic scholarly discourse is impartial and it obfuscates the barbaric aspects of the Vukovar tragedy on several levels:

- Level of social inquiry.
- Level of historical meaning and collective memory.
- Level of moral values of human suffering.
- Level of scholarly explanation and/or understanding.

If, according to Ramet,²⁷ one takes an idealist²⁸ stand in the subject of Yugoslavia's disintegration and wars, then the Vukovar Battle has significant meaning and requires special attention in the social inquiry into 20th century modern barbarism. Why is it so? What is so significant about the Battle of Vukovar? In many respects these questions require complex answers which are difficult to compose. Namely, based on Ramet's idealist line of scholarly inquiry, it is essential to develop stable grounding in universal beliefs and valid moral standards in order to establish universally valid moral perceptions of the Vukovar barbarism.²⁹ The social research into the modern barbarism therefore

²⁶ Rogić (1998).

²⁷ Ramet (2005).

²⁸ "... idealism (the belief that moral beliefs matter, that shifts in moral consensus can have political consequences, and that one can speak sensibly about universal moral norms and universal rights, with corollary too that there are some duties incumbent upon the international community under certain conditions)..." Ramet (2005): viii.

²⁹ In this paper, universalism ("the belief that one can speak sensibly of a universally valid moral standard by which one may criticize the laws or practices of a given government for being wrong (immoral) and that one can establish some universally valid moral percepts by the exercise of unaided reason") is used as proposed by Ramet, and in opposition to relativism ("any orientation which relativizes morality or which treats the rights of one

cannot afford but to ask the fundamental question of responsibility for the crimes committed against humanity in Vukovar 1991. Who is responsible for the atrocities and violence perpetrated in Vukovar 1991? Could Europe afford to be ignorant or delusional as it was during the Second World War when crimes against humanity were committed in numerous concentration camps? As indicated by Cushman and Meštrović³⁰ can modern humanity and global society excuse itself with a remark “*We didn’t know!*”? The social inquiry into modern barbarism therefore includes research into the politics of memory and forgetting, and the official and hidden histories that penetrate into the realm of new world order, freedom and democracy labeled as West European export products of equality and human rights. Comprehensive understanding therefore hinges upon culturally shaped parts of what is to become a valid record of social history which in this case is devoid of structurally defined quality and scientific excellence and therefore no longer represents a ‘true’ interpretation of Vukovar 1991 wartime reality. At the same time, it is evident that the reorientation of a society’s habitual practices to limit its wartime experience to fragmented patterns of authentic domestic narrations contributes greatly to the intentional neglect of the Vukovar 1991 historical meaning and significance for Croatian contemporary society.

This prevailing trend continues along the lines of Croatian personal war narrations,³¹ war accounts and chronicles labelled as biographies, memoirs and monographic editions. Those Croatian texts of war narratives contain meaning which require a study of storytelling and can greatly contribute to better understanding of modern barbarism. Although biographies, memoirs and monographic editions are structured wartime experiences as a personal and social history, they do, however, reflect an author’s perception and subjective understanding of the war in Croatia. Simultaneously, the Vukovar’s Battle has touched each and every person in Croatia not just on a personal level but on the level of their rational existence. However, the question is to what extent this collective trauma has affected the Croatian nation in a sense that even in their personal narratives they

(group of) people as less important than the rights of some other (group of) people”), Ramet (2005): xvii.

³⁰ Chushman, Thomas *at al.* (1996).

³¹ Appendix 1, lists 3, 4, 5.

neglect to deal with it more than a sentence or a section. Namely, analyzed war biographies refer to the Vukovar Battle in 18 publications (List no. 3.). Almost 80% (14 out of 18) of biographies that recollect personal memories about the war in Croatia devote to the Vukovar Battle just a sentence on a page or two. Again, one can notice that personal war narratives, such as biographies, obfuscate Vukovar's wartime events in order to emphasize only its non-civilising barbaric aspects thus neglecting to express on a deeper, personal level to what extent this historical battle has affected their lives.

This framework of personal wartime narrations contribute more to the reorientation of a society's habitual practices towards social history production and culture of ignorance, then to conclusively prove what constitutes a valid interpretation of the war in Croatia. Namely, this personally experienced past during Serbian aggression and war in Croatia contains a selective memory of events in which, based on the analyzed domestic literature, the Vukovar Battle does not hold the focal point. To what extent this barbaric attack on the city is shared among Croatian people, depends greatly on how strongly it is reinforced through their narrations about the war in Croatia. Out of 35 analyzed war memoirs, 21 mention Vukovar Battle in a sentence on a page or two, and only 14 deemed it important to devote it a whole section. Therefore, the analysis of the personal narrations of war in Croatia based on the Vukovar Battle indicates how selective and fragmented is the meaning and interpretation inherent in the recorded memory of their authors. At the same time, biographies and memoirs of war in Croatia both perceive Vukovar's barbarism in line with the fractures of collectively constructed war memories which are continuously produced, reinforced and/or manipulated by the official politics and media.³²

With few exceptions, this social framework of interpretations related to personal war narratives in Croatia has created conceptual layers of fragmented wartime reality, thus enabling one to establish an elusive connection between scholarly interpretations and individual (experienced) perceptions. The relationship is therefore, veiled, obscured and sometimes lost entirely under the pressure and scrutiny of

³² Croatian politicians and government officials such as: Stjepan Mesić, Josip Boljkovac, Slavko Degoricija, Mate Granić, Hrvoje Katičić; and Croatian army officials such as Janko Bobetko and Martin Špegelj.

Croatian national politics.³³ Memoirs of war in this context, according to Gordana Cvitan³⁴ develop memories about one's own side of the conflict neglecting to recognize that they conform to domestic and international politics to the extent that they limit personal experiences, thoughts and emotions on the comfortable and acceptable levels of recognition by 'Others'. This in return is considered to be a 'proper' promotion of war in Croatia³⁵ without prejudice and in line with correct international popular and scholarly discourse on the Yugoslav wars.³⁶

Text forms of experience such as hereby presented Croatian war biographies, memoirs and monographic editions however enables one to investigate into the underlying and persistent character traits of the perception and reception of the Vukovar Battle in the Croatian collective memory. Figures above indicate that the majority of war memoirs mention the Vukovar Battle as a singled out historical event and not as a theme or a subject relevant to the socio-political reality of contemporary Croatian society. Those publications express certain discomfort when faced with barbarism of such scale and it is not surprising that the authors neglect, omit or remain quiet about the Vukovar Battle because it requires them to place it in a larger context from which is possible to discuss culturally shared and appropriate meaning of the Serbian aggression, violence and crimes against humanity.

Namely, war memoirs next to monographic editions, quite often represent the past stored in narrations that is accessible to the public and is frequently used by government institutions to interpret recent historical events. From the analyzed publications so far it is evident that the Vukovar Battle is underrepresented in the contemporary historical memory in Croatia. This abundant source of information, although very diverse and subjectively selective indicates one common denominator: Croatian war biographies and memoirs alike, refer to the Vukovar Battle predominantly in a page or two, and they are less likely to devote a whole section to it. However, if such narrations are considered to be text forms of experience, then in the context of Croatian collective memory, the Vukovar Battle does not hold a significant position.

³³ Žanić (2010).

³⁴ Cvitan (2002).

³⁵ As indicated by Vržina Špoljar (2009); (2010); (2012).

³⁶ International media and political power elites stating that all the sides are equally guilty in the Yugoslav wars of succession, Ramet (2005).

Namely, it does hold just a formal position which indicates the tragedy and suffering of the Vukovar people and its defenders. However, it does not elaborate more than in few sentences, on the meaning, moral grounds and historical significance for the Croatian people. Above all, none of those war narrations – biographies and memoirs, bother to elevate the wartime experience of the Vukovar Battle to a higher level of universal human rights and crimes against humanity in order to address the European Union's impotent efforts to provide peace in the region and contain the 'modern barbarism' of the 'Balkan tribes'.

Furthermore, personal chronicles of war in Croatia presented in monographic editions³⁷ deal with the Vukovar Battle predominantly in sections or paragraphs (22 books out of 27). Sections however, follow the line of the author's individual testimonial impulse "*to communicate common historical truth*"³⁸ and therefore outline the basic facts about the Vukovar Battle and the siege of the city:

- The greatly outnumbered defenders of the city.
- Civilian collateral victims.
- Massacre in Ovčara.
- The Vukovar Hospital patients.
- Extensive destruction of private homes and city infrastructure.

This expansive network of monographic editions breaks up the above outlined facts about the Vukovar Battle only to mix them into a story of 'mythinformation'.³⁹ In return, as indicated by Losi, the effects of such text forms of experience include focalized memory of the fundamental trilogy: aggressor-victim-rescuer situated in the framework of interpretations which allows diverse versions of this basic conflict plot only to construct future reciprocal roles as generators of violence.⁴⁰ Therefore, the Vukovar Battle is frozen around the dominant storyline constellations based on the aforementioned fundamental plot trilogy of

³⁷ Appendix 1, list 5.

³⁸ "... narratives of personal war memories follow two main communication impulses: (a) testimonial impulse – when the witness is supposed to communicate common historical truth and be morally responsible for revealing facts which correspond with the concerns of a wider spectrum of emphatic readers and professional commentators; (b) narrative impulse – that aims to make sense of an individual experience with the potential to challenge the expectations of a broader public." Jambrešić Kirin (2000): 1.

³⁹ Losi, Natale *et al.* (2001): 7.

⁴⁰ Losi, Natale *et al.* (2001).

mythinformation, and is not able to reach outside of it and into the alternative approach to the study of modern barbarism in Croatia.

On the other hand, authors of war monographic editions neglect to follow their narrative impulse in order to position their individual experience and thoughts against the Vukovar barbarism and challenge the broader public perception of the siege in 1991.⁴¹ Thereby, it is possible to challenge the social interpretations of Balkanisation aspects of the war in Croatia, and include into one's social inquiry traditional and emotional elements spontaneously derived from Vukovar's 1991 tragedy. Those spontaneous traditional and emotional elements are the founding blocs of collective trauma deeply inflicted by the brutal war. Croatian wartime personal narratives and their interpretation of the Vukovar Battle exert an extreme pressure on society as it tries to come to terms with war-related realities of the recent past. Therefore, contemporary domestic scholarly discourse on the Vukovar Battle and war events leaves just enough room to speculate and manipulate with social interpretations and explanations of the war-related realities that are cultural constructions of revised historical and social facts. It also forces one to consider and stress the collective dimension of the issue. Namely, the traumatic event of Vukovar has influenced the Croatian people and exiled the Vukovar community forcing them to block and reduce the interpretation of their lives and what has happened to them, while at the same time, they struggle to comprehend the meaning behind this tragic historical episode.

Contemporary scientific reasoning of the war in Croatia therefore, begs for engaged social research and the revision of objective social facts which should bring about valued and socially relevant understanding of the Vukovar Battle. Analyzed domestic interdisciplinary scientific studies related to the battle (the list is by no means extensive and is therefore constructed according to its availability to this author)⁴² in which social scientist researched various issues related exclusively to the Vukovar siege indicate upfront that the list is not extensive (12 books). This means that the Vukovar Battle is neither a favourable nor relevant scientific subject to study for Croatian social scientists. Next to this, one can also notice the absence of a comprehensive and encompassing qualitative study of the Vukovar

⁴¹ Jambrešić Kirin (2000).

⁴² Appendix 1, list 6.

Battle which should be a product of long-term research conducted over a period of years by teams of social scientists in Croatia. It begs the question as to why is it so? Does an interdisciplinary social research depend on finances or national policies? Or is it a deeper issue related to the overall academic crises in Croatia which does not want to get involved with a long-term project that requires commitment, sacrifice, and dedication to old fashioned thirst for knowledge and truth? With notable exceptions, the ignorant contemporary intellectual and scholarly elite in Croatia is reluctant to engage in social research if it requires to go beyond scientific borders and into the realm of universal moral ethics and real life of everyday people.⁴³

Desensitized and detached from a modern day barbarism committed in Vukovar Battle, contemporary interdisciplinary scholarly discourse on violence, war and killings in Croatia is limited to scientific production which predominantly represents an over-intellectualized image of what constitutes today's over-privileged academic community disconnected from the real issues of the contemporary Croatian society as engaged scientists. Therefore, it could be inferred that the reason behind the absence of elaborate social research on the issues related to Vukovar's barbarism is twofold. On one hand, no workable theoretical ground is found for the meaningful and fruitful scientific discussion on the subject at stake; and on the other hand, under enormous domestic political pressure and international influence, Croatian scholars have become more prone to engage in the research which does not involve difficult issues related to the Vukovar tragedy and the 1991 Battle instead, they involve themselves with global subjects such as poverty, gender, public opinion pools, environment protection, development policies, technology and education.⁴⁴ Croatian social scientists failed to develop research based on Vukovar Battle's experience and memories of all survivors which could greatly contribute for better understanding of the contemporary modern barbarism and Homeland War in general.

One can easily claim that Vukovar's barbarism and savagery as

⁴³ Namely, according to the Doctoral and Master's Thesis Collection at the National and University Library in Zagreb, the list for the period 1990–2006 clearly indicate that there is no M.A. and PhD dissertation on any subject related to the Vukovar Battle. List is accessible on the Library's web site:

http://www.nsk.hr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/dr_1990-2006.pdf.

⁴⁴ Evident from the Doctoral and Master's Thesis Collection at the National and University Library in Zagreb, the list for the period 1990–2006. The list is accessible on the Library's web site: http://www.nsk.hr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/dr_1990-2006.pdf.

relevant research subject disrupts the dynamic equilibrium between contemporary scientific interpretations and positivist reasoning represented in various Croatian publications on war and Yugoslavia's disintegration.⁴⁵ Unable to produce workable social reasoning of modern barbarism such as war and genocide in Vukovar 1991, Croatian social research follows positivist modern categories of space, time and causality only to satisfy contemporary canons of empirical research professed by their international colleagues disconnecting themselves from the real issues at stake.⁴⁶ Therefore, it is obvious more than ever, that Croatian social scientists should take a qualitative leap into the unstructured and insufficiently theoretically analyzed text forms of personal Vukovar war-narrations in order to develop a workable and meaningful scholarly discussion about the Yugoslavia's disintegration and war in Croatia.

Subjective personal narratives and the social world of modern barbarism

Modern barbarism in today's contemporary societies so far is not mastered by the right forms of social control and rational control of efforts. Based on the subordination of human needs and control over natural resources, modern Western civilization is inept to contain sophisticated violent tendencies within boundaries of tolerance, coexistence, human rights and cultural diversity. Modernist social engineering developed as a tool to eliminate the barbarism of modern society is not only a survival technique to ensure the sanity of the global society. On the contrary, it is based upon scientific endeavors that are contingent with discoveries of new social relationships which can bring about new forms of sophisticated violence. Those relationships constitute anti-social tendencies and develop fragmented social meaning of moral action. According to Meštrović,⁴⁷ contemporary social inquiry into civilized anti-barbarism constitutes a new mode of reading and understanding of the constitutional duality of human nature.

Therefore, following this line of social sciences inquiry, in this paper are analyzed authentic Vukovar wartime chronicles and first hand

⁴⁵ As indicated by Vržina Špoljar (2012).

⁴⁶ Meštrović (1993).

⁴⁷ Meštrović (1993).

narrations of the 1991 Battle produced by civilians and soldiers in the last twenty years.⁴⁸ Rendering such life histories in a political climate of the contemporary Croatian society which constitutes multitudes of interpretations requires according to Ricoeur,⁴⁹ to speak about narrative unity of life in order to articulate retrospection of the Vukovar Battle events. The fragility of the human condition in extreme war circumstances therefore is represented through actions⁵⁰ that are intelligible and proper subject of social scientific inquiry. However, as Ricoeur indicates: “*all action is in principle interaction just as all discourse is in principle dialogical.*”⁵¹ It follows then, that action in the context of war, like war discourse in chronicles of war accounts and personal experiences in narratives about Vukovar, is inherently subject to interpretation, and all interpretative activity by scholars in social sciences proceeds by way of a dialectic between guessing and validity. However, to validate this kind of interpretation requires from one not only to limit itself to empirical validation, but to extend its validation against competing interpretations as an argumentative discipline based on “*logic of uncertainty and qualitative probability.*”⁵²

If the actions interpreted in the war chronicles of the people directly involved in the Vukovar Battle are to be analyzed, according to Ricoeur, as purposive and related to other actions in a meaningful context of historical time; then such narrations should transfer historical time into human time. Narrative mode, therefore, articulates the human time of barbarism and attains its full significance when it becomes a constitutive part of personal identity. His or her character identity strongly relates to their narrative identity and is expressed in the personal encounter with violence, destruction and killings. Thus, Vukovar personal narrations of war accounts and experience have ethical dimensions, because the narrative unity with personal lives is made up of moments of its responsiveness or failure to respond to others.⁵³ Thereby, the life experiences of war accounts during the Vukovar Battle interpreted in personal narrations⁵⁴ are the starting point

⁴⁸ Appendix 1, lists 7 and 8.

⁴⁹ Dauenhauer & Pellauer (2012).

⁵⁰ Dauenhauer & Pellauer (2012).

⁵¹ Dauenhauer & Pellauer (2012).

⁵² Dauenhauer & Pellauer (2012).

⁵³ Dauenhauer & Pellauer (2012).

⁵⁴ Appendix 1, lists 7. and 8.

and key term for social science inquiry into an acceptable definition of what constitutes a study of text forms of experiences in the scientific, social and philosophical frame of reference, especially if it aims to contribute to a better understanding of modern barbarism.

Vukovar war memoirs⁵⁵ as text forms of experience, however contain documentary evidence that tell past events even though in this case, publications analyzed leave unanswered questions of utmost importance to the study of the battle:

- None of the authors provide documents which can prove that there was an explicit order to defend the city (neither defenders nor the national authorities have the answer).
- None of the authors elaborate on the fact that nobody wanted to provide answers to the questions related to the outcome of the siege.

Those open questions left unanswered until present day, create controversies in the public and scientific communities in Croatia, thus providing the grounds for all sorts of political manipulations, be it domestic or international. As indicated by Gordana Cvitan,⁵⁶ the result of this ambiguity is noticed, on one hand, in today's general disappointment by the Vukovar defenders as to how they are treated by contemporary Croatian society and; on the other hand, in autism of the government authorities responsible for the Vukovar defense in 1991. Namely, under the general conditions of war outlined in the plans for Serbian aggression on Croatia, Vukovar war casualties have become redundant and survivors bear the witness to barbarism without precedent.⁵⁷ The power of evidence expressed in the personal narrations of the Vukovar Battle, thus stands weak under the international political pressure to reduce⁵⁸ crimes against humanity outside the jurisdiction and responsibility of their own authorities. They are living proof that text forms of experience and memory can never be neutral. Memory, history, forgetting and remembering Ricoeur argues, all belong to people, for without memories there could be no history involving

⁵⁵ Appendix 1, list 7.

⁵⁶ Cvitan (2002).

⁵⁷ Nazor (2011).

⁵⁸ The most prominent example is Hague's (International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia) reduced sentence against general Veselin Šljivančanin for war crimes at Ovčara from 17 to 10 years.

people. Therefore, to concur with Ricoeur, this type of historical knowledge deserves to be called true and equal to or at least a part of the official historical knowledge in Croatia. Subjective narratives such as those presented in this paper contain an individual's memory of what he or she has encountered or done or suffered during the Vukovar Battle. Testimonies of this sort shape a group's memory, its common knowledge. Remembering is a social duty not only for their communities and the nation as a whole, but above all, for European society, which has a moral obligation to acknowledge human sacrifice and give meaning to their loss through justice and truth. It could be argued then, that qualitative social research into subjective personal narrations of the Vukovar Battle can greatly improve contemporary understanding of modern barbarism.

Furthermore, monographic war editions⁵⁹ analyzed in this research are personal narratives that revolve around unexpected war episodes, ruptures and disturbance of normal states of affairs or social rules in Vukovar during its three months siege in 1991. Those narratives convey a special message and interpretation about war events and/or the characters involved in them as they vary in structure, content type, social function and interactional organization. Reflecting the power and social relationships among interactants, Vukovar monographic war editions therefore provide means to reach out of the box - from a personal into the public sphere - with the aim to harbor itself along the choices they make in order to speak out and for its survivors. Discursive practices of such kind point out to the fact that narrators as authors, "*construct and articulate a variety of meanings that go beyond the manifestation of their individual self*" in order to encompass multiple ties and social relationships in war conditions.⁶⁰ It could be inferred, according to De Fina,⁶¹ that this type of narration is a discursive practice which in Vukovar's case is very important in the sense that it negotiates and modifies beliefs and relationships deeply impregnated by 1991 war realities. If one is to concur with Ochs and Capps⁶² then socially accepted conventions about the Vukovar Battle

⁵⁹ Appendix 1, list 8.

⁶⁰ De Fina (2003): 19.

⁶¹ De Fina (2003).

⁶² They "*also discuss the fact that experiences are framed within the limits of stereotypes and socially accepted conventions through cultural templates or conventional images of people and events.*" De Fina (2003): 21.

expressed in analyzed monographic editions have created cultural templates and/or conventional images of Vukovar defenders, victims and survivors as martyrs detached from their symbolic roots.

The arguments discussed in this section converge on the idea that Vukovar's war realities expressed in monographic editions as personal narrations should become functional parts contained in the historical knowledge of the recent Croatian past. As previously mentioned, this historical knowledge, contrary to relativist standing on the subject, deserves to be called true, according to Ricoeur.⁶³ Coming out of war without asking questions related to the barbarism of the battle of Vukovar implies that Croatian society has not developed a social framework of memory. It also predisposes one not to ask the fundamental question "*why?*". Where and how to situate personal narrations (memoirs, monographic editions, autobiographies and diaries) about the Vukovar Battle into the framework of Croatian collective memory requires from the contemporary social sciences to overcome fragmentations and contamination with politicized expressions of reality. At the same time, the absence of such narrations in the contemporary social inquiry into modern barbarism indicates to what extent subjective memory and personal history are neglected as valid and reliable sources of knowledge.

Therefore, meaning contained in texts of the first hand narratives such as autobiographies and diaries require studies of life as structured quality of experience with patterns of social inquiry considered both as a phenomenon and method.⁶⁴ In this paper, according to Clandinin and Connelly,⁶⁵ it is assumed that authentic war narrations (autobiographies and diaries)⁶⁶ of the Vukovar Battle contain stories that can provide full sense and "*coming out of a personal and social history*" lived by the people as a valid record of experience, situation⁶⁷ and time. Namely, 'subjective' or 'cultural' direction towards personal and social meanings as basis of action should gain greater prominence in social inquiry into contemporary war narrations.⁶⁸ According to

⁶³ Dauenhauer & Pellauer (2012), accessed on March 26, 2013.

⁶⁴ Denzin, Norman *et al.* (1998): 158.

⁶⁵ Denzin, Norman *et al.* (1998): 155.

⁶⁶ Appendix: List No. 9. Autobiographies and List No. 10: Diaries.

⁶⁷ Denzin, Norman *et al.* (1998): 157.

⁶⁸ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000).

Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf,⁶⁹ autobiography, eye-witness statements and straightforward personal narrative (such as diaries) as biographical methods thus provide wide varieties of interpretative procedures which combine the personal and the social as they gradually become a life-history. Vukovar Battle autobiographies are “*rooted in an analysis of both social history and the wellsprings of individual personality*” as they “*reach forward and backwards in time, documenting processes and experiences of social change.*”⁷⁰ The Vukovar Battle literature therefore, represents a functional question in the general framework of public and scholarly discourse on war in Croatia.

Among the vast number of war narrations and professional writers of someone’s else memories,⁷¹ Vukovar personal narrations such as memoirs, monographic editions, autobiographies and diaries reflect war reality that is nowadays very difficult to grasp. According to Gordana Cvitan⁷² the ‘aesthetics of discomfort’ is what lies beneath those personal narrations as their authors try to find devalued moral consciousness of the nation. Discomfort is mutually shared by those who write and those who read as they are confronted with the brutalities of war in Vukovar. What it means is that social inquiry into Vukovar Battle narrations of personal war experiences should include development of explanations around “*telling and remembering, and their functions in relation to agency and meaning.*”⁷³ More so, Vukovar’s marginalized histories inaccessible through conventional documentary sources underline a present “*imbalance in making and telling of history*”⁷⁴ in Croatia. Therefore, this type of biographical work, reflective as it may be “*in its self-construction, life review and identity development*”⁷⁵ is contingent with information valuable to scholarly explanation and/or understanding of modern barbarism.

Based on the conducted research, autobiographies⁷⁶ represent to a

⁶⁹ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000).

⁷⁰ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 1.

⁷¹ One of the most productive professional writers recoding stories, memories and feelings of the Vukovar Battle survivors and soldiers is Davor Runtić (see Appendix 1, lists 7, 9 and 10).

⁷² Cvitan (2002): 13.

⁷³ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 5.

⁷⁴ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 5.

⁷⁵ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 5.

⁷⁶ Appendix 1, list 9.

certain extent a testimony and document of time that is witness to a snap-shot memory of war reality. Vukovar's wartime reality in this case, is locked up and channeled through documentary means and purified to the level of expressed and lived in 36 autobiographies. They bear witness to barbarism that goes beyond existing and new roles of compliance to the mainstream discourse on war in Croatia.⁷⁷ Namely, compliance to the mainstream discourse on war in Croatia requires from one to revise and revisit unique point of views of Vukovar's actors which express their war reality without outside interventions into their personal life experiences. Therefore, a canon of qualitative inquiry focused on the point of view of the actor engaged in Vukovar war developments should be directed towards biographising into social sciences which include a comprehensive understanding of the *"evaluation of structures, agencies and actions as historically formed and historically forming."*⁷⁸

To explore emotional levels of personal meaning, however, requires a full disclosure of the Vukovar Battle eyewitness stories, because it documents both sides of the coin: subjective and objective reality. As Gordana Cvitan indicates⁷⁹ – the city is besieged and the hero has survived. The hero is a document and a testament to the war, not more or less. The author was a soldier and now provides a written testimony that can only be understood by those who survived and participated but were never able to witness themselves. In-depth analysis of both, intra-psychic and societal-context of the Vukovar 1991 wartime personal narrations enable one to *"explore latent levels of personal meaning"* through biographical-interpretative method.⁸⁰ However, *"substantive sociological engagement with the individual and the social"* in Vukovar's case therefore, *"requires distinction between the objective factors"* of the war situation and the subjective interpretation of that situation which is of fundamental significance.⁸¹ Narrative truth in Vukovar life history and narrations of the war, based on the conducted research, is therefore, marginalized and neglected historical truth. So far, Vukovar narrations as stories of personal war experiences are *"marginal to history making or to sociological*

⁷⁷ For example: autobiographies by Ivan Slonje-Šved, and Ivan Kifer-Helin.

⁷⁸ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 8.

⁷⁹ Cvitan (2002).

⁸⁰ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 9.

⁸¹ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 3.

explanation” in Croatia and they ask for engaged approach to scientific inquiry into personal accounts of written words in order to give “*value to subjective experience*”⁸² and provide an alternative approach to the study of modern barbarism.

Qualitative research and alternative approach to study of modern barbarism

Subjective, cultural and biographical turn in the social sciences understand that the qualitative research seeks for commonalities between approaches and a deeper understanding of differences, which in the case of Vukovar, should follow “*trajectories as means of comparing responses to traumatic*” war events.⁸³ Therefore, a deep rift that traverses the scholarly discourse on Yugoslavia’s dissolution (domestic and international), exhibit also a complex lineages of social inquiries into the defended subject together with the intersubjective provenance of selectively targeted resources. So far, international and domestic scholarly research into aggression and war in Croatia was not extensively concerned “*with the personalized world of experience and the structuring of the externalities impinging on individuals and collectivities*” in the case of Vukovar.⁸⁴ The Vukovar war case reconstruction is rarely found embedded into the social inquiry of the Yugoslavia’s macro-structures in a sense that it provides mutual implications of lives, stories, contexts and subjectivities situated in researched life. Therefore, “*the importance of sensitive understanding of inner-worlds and emotional blockages and the interaction of those with complex cultures and contexts*” should therefore include narrations of personal experiences of the war in Vukovar as integral part of all social investigations in Yugoslavia’s disintegration and war in Croatia.⁸⁵ This in return can explain the interaction between social mechanisms and social arrangements that are in line with individual life strategies and contribute to comprehensive understanding of the social setting and war realities of modern barbaric societies.

However, personal narrations of the Vukovar tragedy represent people that deserve to be heard. Their life stories should be voiced out after having been kept hidden from the ‘official’ history and they

⁸² Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 3-5.

⁸³ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 14.

⁸⁴ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 17.

⁸⁵ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 24.

should be allowed to enter contemporary social research. Social research and inquiry into the Vukovar Battle personal narrations provide a voice to marginalized histories of the few and simultaneously empowers both victims and survivors to speak for themselves not letting objective distant observers to speak for them. However, according to Wengraf⁸⁶ one is to go beyond sophisticated formal text-analysis and recycling of the narrations in order to extend the understanding of the subject “*through the process of social and societal contextualization*”. What it means is that one should “*locate that personal and interpersonal history within the history of context*”, which in return enables understanding rather than just recycling of the personal stories.⁸⁷ Therefore, researched knowledge of the real history of the personal and local social context of the Vukovar Battle is necessary for the comprehensive understanding of the war in Croatia and Yugoslavia’s disintegration. Text-analysis⁸⁸ of the Vukovar personal war narrations predispose development of socio-historical model embedded in the objective context (with the knowledge of the external real) which can be further used to interpret the significance of the text, history and subjectivity on the national level. If allowed to enter contemporary qualitative social research, Vukovar war narrative autobiographies and diaries will enable concrete particularities and implicit typologies to transfer into explicit knowledge and help to clarify the general concepts of the war and bloody resolution of the socialist Yugoslavia.⁸⁹ In doing so, it will greatly improve understanding of modern barbarism.

If ignored or forgotten, Vukovar’s personal war narrations will be unable to tell stories about their violent past and inevitably remain silent or allow somebody else to create new past. General speechlessness when confronted with Vukovar’s tragedy leads to the conclusion that popular scholarly memory is full of blank spaces and selective resources. The judgmental attitude of the international

⁸⁶ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 142.

⁸⁷ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 143.

⁸⁸ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000).

⁸⁹ According to Holloway and Jefferson: “*theoretical assumption about the subject in biographical research, as in qualitative social sciences more generally, is that research subjects are knowledgeable agents, willing and able to ‘tell it like it is’; subjects who are always somehow closer to the truth of their self-hood than the researcher can ever be.*” Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 169.

community has hampered social inquiry into the war in Croatia while it refused to come to terms with the grave barbarism in the Vukovar siege of 1991. Flooded by Western scholars who tried to reason the subject, however well intended, they had very little possibility to understand the ‘Yugoslavia’s tragedy’ let alone the Vukovar stories of war and genocide. Their one-sided nature of communication has created a construction of the Croatian recent past through “*a meaning-making lens*” which does not correspond to and include the Vukovar tragedy as a crucial event in Croatian collective memory.⁹⁰ Dismantling of the collective memory and burying the Vukovar war history however risked to penetrate the environment which favored one version of the recent Croatian past over ‘the other’. Western scholars and Croatian alike did not help in the process, because they were prone to favor one interpretation – ‘objective’ over another – ‘subjective’ unable to grasp realities such as Vukovar’s (which does not mean that they do not exist). Therefore, Vukovar personal war narrations pose a serious question to the validity of various selective interpretation of the war and Serbian aggression on Croatia. Marginalized and ignored, or reduced to the level of mere historical fact, the Vukovar tragedy indicates to what extent international and domestic scholars alike, are not clear whose past they are recording and for whom.⁹¹ One can concur therefore with Andrews, and state that Vukovar’s people “*do not need Western cassette players to liberate their memory.*”⁹² “*What they want, and need, and are trying to create for themselves, is space to talk about their lives, both past and present, in the way that they perceive them*”, and it is an imperative for the domestic scholars and international alike, to understand what constitutes new barbarism in Vukovar at the end of the 20th century.⁹³

Conclusion

Vukovar’s personal narratives are in a position to reflect upon, and respond honestly to remembered past free to voice out their truth. A fragile bond between the forgotten and the unspoken can only be reinforced by their rediscovery of memory and not additionally

⁹⁰ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 189.

⁹¹ Appendix 1, table 6.

⁹² Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 191.

⁹³ Chamberlayne, Prue *et al.* (2000): 191.

burdened by assisted scholarly interpretations which threaten to replace one form of speechlessness with another. Scholarly research into the Vukovar Battle should therefore include investigation into its levels of significance for the Croatian people and the nation as a whole:

- a. On the level of significance for the nation-state building process (state sovereignty, independence, nation state).
- b. The historical meaning (the siege, genocide, crimes against humanity).
- c. Croatian war of defense against Serbian aggression (EU and global geopolitics).

Fossilization of the recent traumatic memories and its manipulation through extensive literary production thus calls for the development of a collective memory framework development suitable for and according to Croatian social realities of war experiences. This in return provides on the one hand, the basic connection between the meaning and symbolic roots of experienced war realities by defenders, war victims and survivors; and on the other hand, on the level of Croatian society, it gives a meaning to Vukovar sacrifice and suffering as it is perceived as an integral part of the national integration process, historical significance and Croatian defensive war against Serbian aggression.

Social interaction and wearing away of war memories are grounded in words as symbolic representations and they behave like things with invisible impact on human mind and soul. Civilized wounds according to Meštrović⁹⁴ are a result of affect-laden memories that behave like Durkheim's representations - as if they possess a will of their own. Therefore, it is quite possible to assume that collective memories under intense repression of invisible traumas coming from the past continue to thrive and live in present time only to influence the behavior of the subject – the whole peoples – due to a distorted sense of history. Namely, cultural problems the same as aggressive instincts that are not worn away by certain nations due to culture, actually result in sickness. He points out that *“sanity is maintained through proper mental hygiene that involves an ongoing, accurate assessment of personal and collective memories, which is to say – history,”* because

⁹⁴ Meštrović (1993).

*“memories exist permanently as mental facts: they do not disappear when the firing that caused them disappear.”*⁹⁵ Memories are not worn out by the passage of time because they are constantly reconstructed, repressed, or transformed in some way or another.

Traumatic memory wearing away process as mechanical problem can not be simply amputated by modernist narratives from accumulated traces of the past, because humans increasingly suffer more under the umbrella of modernity. Meštrović⁹⁶ argues that they construct fictive forms of *“hyper-reality as a valid substitute for old-fashioned reality”* thereby perpetuating the most oppressive external force in the world – *“collectivity in form of civilization.”*⁹⁷ Therefore, contemporary narrations related to the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia call for social inquiry into collective representations and neuroses as social structures because *“they endeavor to achieve by private means what is affected in society by collective effort.”*⁹⁸ At the same time, qualitative research into modern barbarism in Croatia can not afford to avoid testimonial narrations of the Vukovar war experiences and memories as an alternative approach to social analysis of the phenomenon at stake. Out of more than 900⁹⁹ surveyed domestic and international works on Yugoslavia’s disintegration and war in Croatia, published in the period 1991–2010, the analysis of 258¹⁰⁰ books indicates that the reception of the Vukovar Battle as reference to extreme violence can contribute to a better understanding of modern barbarism. However, its absence from the researched contemporary popular and scholarly literature forces one to acknowledge the fact that barbarism of the Vukovar Battle is continuously under technical censorship which perpetuates a sophisticated production of selective and biased memory and history reconstruction. Therefore, international and domestic debates which interpret contemporary violence and wars in the former Yugoslavia failed to understand modern barbarism.

⁹⁵ Meštrović (1993): 206-07.

⁹⁶ Meštrović (1993): 214.

⁹⁷ Which means that stressful life-events are *“shaped by collective processes and individual predispositions”* resulting in trauma, Meštrović (2000): 217.

⁹⁸ Meštrović (1993): 254.

⁹⁹ 71% of the surveyed works does not mention the Vukovar Battle at all.

¹⁰⁰ Out of 258 books (only 21% of the total): 23% mention the Vukovar Battle and war related experiences in a paragraph or a section; 37% mentions it in a page or two and 40% is all about the Vukovar Battle.

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Sažetak

Namjera je ovoga rada utvrditi početno stajalište za bolje razumijevanje alternativnog pristupa proučavanju suvremenoga nasilja kako to predlaže Meštrović. Naime, kako bi se unaprijedilo suvremeno razumijevanje modernoga nasilja, autorica ukazuje na to da je potrebno provesti sociološka istraživanja publikacija o ratovima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji tako da se ona temelje na tome kako je i do koje razine vukovarska bitka iz 1991. godine percipirana i istraživana u međunarodnoj i domaćoj literaturi. Upravo se takav referentni okvir istraživanja koristi u ovom radu kako bi se iz perspektive kritične teorije omogućila analiza međunarodnih i domaćih socioloških istraživanja modernoga nasilja te predložio

manje restriktivan i vitalniji alternativni pristup razumijevanju navedenog fenomena. Predložen alternativni pristup temelji se na kvalitativnom istraživanju osobnih naracija kao integralnog dijela za sveobuhvatno razumijevanje modernoga nasilja. Stoga se pretpostavlja da su vukovarske osobne naracije sa stajališta zapamćene prošlosti u poziciji da se na nju slobodno reflektiraju i o njoj istinito progovore njihovi akteri. Upravo je tu krhku vezu između zaboravljenoga i izrečenoga moguće osnažiti ponovnim otkrivanjem sjećanja koja se nalaze u osobnim naracijama, a da ih se pri tome ne optereti dodatno potpomognutim znanstvenim interpretacijama koje tako često znaju zamijeniti jedan oblik šutnje s drugim oblikom šutnje. Naime, nedavna traumatska sjećanja koja su sada fosilizirana i njima se uvelike manipulira kroz literarnu produkciju, ukazuje na potrebu izgradnje kolektivnog okvira sjećanja koje odgovara hrvatskoj društvenoj stvarnosti ratnih iskustava.

Na taj bi se način, s jedne strane, osiguralo temeljno povezivanje značenja i simboličkih korijena iskustvene ratne stvarnosti branitelja, žrtava rata i preživjelih. S druge strane, na razini hrvatskoga društva, takav kolektivni okvir sjećanja pridodao bi vukovarskoj žrtvi i patnji 1991. godine značenje koje joj pripada kao neodvojivi dio nacionalnog integracijskog procesa, povijesne važnosti i hrvatskoga obrambenoga rata protiv srpske agresije.

Stoga kvalitativno istraživanje modernoga nasilja u Hrvatskoj ne bi trebalo izostaviti naracije vukovarskih svjedočenja o ratnim iskustvima i sjećanjima iz 1991. godine jer iste predstavljaju sastavni dio sociološke analize navedenoga fenomena. Od 900 istraženih domaćih i međunarodnih knjiga na temu raspada bivše Jugoslavije i rata u Hrvatskoj (objavljenih u periodu 1991. – 2010. godine), analizom njih 258 utvrđeno je da vukovarska bitka iz 1991. godine na koju se referiraju a predstavlja primjer ekstremnoga nasilja, može doprinijeti boljem razumijevanju modernoga nasilja. Međutim, u isto vrijeme, ovo istraživanje pokazuje da upravo izostanak vukovarske bitke 1991. godine i počinjenoga nasilja u popularnoj i znanstvenoj literaturi, nije slučajna i da se stoga nalazi kontinuirano pod tehničkom cenzurom koja dalje proizvodi sofisticirane selektivne oblike i pristrana sjećanja kroz rekonstrukciju povijesti. Zbog toga, rasprava na međunarodnoj i domaćoj sceni u literaturi koja interpretira suvremeno nasilje i ratove bivše Jugoslavije nije u mogućnosti razumjeti moderno nasilje.

Appendix 1

List 1: International popular and scholarly work on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia

1. **Badura, H.** (ed.) (2009): *Agressivität und Gewalt in Europa. Grenzfragen und Prüfsteiner der Integration der EU* (Krems & Donau).
2. **Biserko, S.** (ed.) (2007): *Vukovarska tragedija 1991. U mreži propagandnih laži i oružane moći JNA*. 2 Volumes (Belgrade).
3. **Biserko, S.** (ed.) (2009): *Proces Vojislavu Šešelju: Raskrinkavanje projekta Velike Srbije* (Belgrade).
4. **Cigar, N. L.** (1995): *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing"* (Austin, TX).
5. **Cot, J.** (ed.) (1997): *Posljednji balkanski rat? Bivša Jugoslavija: svjedočenja, raščlamba, izgledi* (Zagreb), originally published as *Dernière guerre balkanique? Ex-Yougoslavie: témoignages, analyses, perspectives* (Paris, 1996).
6. **Cushman, T. & Meštrović, S.G.** (1996): *This Time We Know. Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia* (New York & London).
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8. **Finkelkraut, A.** (1992): *Kako se to može biti Hrvat?* (Zagreb), originally published as *Comment peut-on être croate?* (Paris, 1992).
9. **Finkelkraut, A.** (1995): *Zločin je biti rođen* (Zagreb), originally published as *Le crime d'être né. L'Europe, les nations, la guerre* (Paris, 1994).
10. **Frusca, P.** (1997): *Genocid na Balkanu u ime «Velike Srbije»* (Trieste).
11. **Gow, J.** (1997): *Triumph of the Lack of Will. International Diplomacy and the Yugoslav War* (New York).
12. **Heller, Y.** (1999): *Neugašena žeravica. Reportaže iz ratova na tlu bivše Jugoslavije 1991.-1995.* (Zagreb), originally published as *Des brasiers mal éteints: un reporter dans les guerres yougoslaves, 1991-1995* (Paris, 1997).
13. **Hodge, C.** (2007): *Velika Britanija i Balkan* (Zagreb), originally published as: *Britain and the Balkans* (London & New York, 2006).
14. **Hodge, C. & Grbin, M.** (eds.) (2000): *Europa i nacionalizam. Nacionalni identitet naspram nacionalnoj netrpeljivosti* (Zagreb).
15. **Holbrooke, R.** (1998): *Završiti rat* (Sarajevo), originally published as *To End a War* (New York, 1998).
16. **Jovanović, N.** (2002): *Idemo na Zagreb. Dnevnik sa srpskim rezervistima* (Zagreb).
17. **Kadijević, V.** (1993): *Moje viđenje raspada. Vojska bez države* (Beograd).
18. **Lambrichs, L.L.** (2007): *Vukovar nikad nećemo vidjeti* (Zagreb), originally published as: *Nous ne verrons jamais Vukovar* (Paris, 2005).
19. **Lampe, J.R.** (2000): *Yugoslavia as History. Twice there was a country* (Cambridge).
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23. **Mamula, B.** (2000): *Slučaj Jugoslavija* (Podgorica).
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25. **Morton, S., Jeffrey, R., Nation, C., Forage, P.C. & Bianchini, S.** (2004): *Reflections on the Balkan Wars. Ten Years After the Break-up of Yugoslavia* (New York).
26. **Perica, V.** (2002): *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States* (Oxford & New York).
27. **Purešević, Z.** (ed.) (2000): *Srđan M. Popović: Put u varvarstvo* (Beograd).
28. **Ramet, S.P.** (2002): *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević* (Cambridge).
29. _____. (2005): *Balkanski Babilon. Raspad Jugoslavije od Titove smrti do Miloševićeva pada* (Zagreb).
30. _____. (2005): *Thinking about Yugoslavia. Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Breakup and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo* (Cambridge).
31. **Rumiz, P.** (2000): *Masken für ein Massakr. Die manipulierte Krieg: Spurensuche auf dem Balkan* (Munich).
32. **Reißmüller, J.G.** (1995): *Rat pred našim vratima. Uzroci hrvatske tragedije* (Zagreb), originally published as *Der Krieg vor unserer Haustür: Hintergründe der kroatischen Tragödie* (Stuttgart, 1992).
33. **Silber, L. & Little, A.** (1996): *Smrt Jugoslavije* (Opatija), originally published as *The Death of Yugoslavia* (London, 1995).
34. **Stover, E. & Peress, G.** (1998): *The Graves. Srebrenica and Vukovar* (Zurich, Berlin & New York).
35. **Ströhm, C.G.** (1994): *Što sam rekao Hrvatima* (Zagreb).
36. **Tanner, M.** (2001): *Croatia. A Nation Forged in War* (New Haven & London).
37. **Thatcher, M.** (2004): *Državničko umijeće. Strategija za svijet koji se mijenja* (Zagreb), originally published as *Statecraft: strategies for a changing world* (London & New York, 2002).
38. **Udovički, J. & Ridgeway, J.** (eds.) (2000): *Burn this house. The making and unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Durham & London).
39. **Ullman, R.H.** (ed.) (1996): *The World and Yugoslavia's Wars* (New York).
40. **Weitz, E.D.** (2003): *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation* (Princeton & Oxford).
41. **Zimmermann, W.** (1997): *Izvori jedne katastrofe: Jugoslavija i njezini rušitelji. Posljednji američki veleposlanik piše o tome što se dogodilo i zašto* (Zagreb), originally published as: *Origins of a catastrophe: Yugoslavia and its destroyers: America's last ambassador tells what happened and why* (New York, 1996).

List 2. Popular and scholarly work on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia, published in Croatia

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3. **Bilić, B.** (2001): *Misli 21. stoljeća. Treća Hrvatska* (Zagreb).
4. **Buljan, Z.** (1993): 'Aktivnosti Gradskog muzeja Vukovar na zaštiti arhivske građe u uvjetima agresije na grad Vukovar i Republiku Hrvatsku', *Glasnik arhiva Slavonije i Baranje* 2 (Osijek): 37-39.
5. **Crljenjak, B.** (1991): 'Vukovar: moralna kataklizma civilizacije', *Godišnjak za kulturu, umjetnost i društvena pitanja* 9 (13): 191-200.
6. **Goldstein, I.** (2008): *Hrvatska 1918.-2008.* (Zagreb).
7. **Klain, E.** (ed.) (1992): *Ratna psihologija i psihijatrija* (Zagreb).
8. **Kovacs, F.** (1993): 'Djelovanje civilne zaštite u Vukovaru za vrijeme Domovinskog rata 1991.', *Civilna zaštita: znanstveno-stručni časopis za zaštitu i spašavanje* 2(1): 69-76.
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10. **Magaš, B. & Žanić, I.** (1999): *Rat u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini 1991. – 1995.* (Zagreb & Sarajevo).
11. **Marčinko, M.** (1991): 'Od Bleiburga do Vukovara', *Hrvatska revija* 41: 450-454.
12. **Marijan, D.** (2002): *Smrt oklopne brigade. Prilozi za istraživanje rata za Hrvatsku i Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1990.-1992.* (Zagreb).
13. _____. (2008): *Slom Titove armije. JNA i raspad Jugoslavije 1987.-1992.* (Zagreb).
14. **Piskač, N.** (2002): *Poražena Hrvatska* (Zagreb).
15. **Polović, J.** (2004): *Utjecaj SAD-a na hrvatsku politiku u razdoblju od 1990.-2000. godine* (Zagreb).
16. **Radelić, Z., Marijan, D., Barić, N., Bing, A. & Živić, D.** (2006): *Stvaranje hrvatske države i Domovinski rat* (Zagreb).
17. **Rupić, M.** (ed.) (2007): *Oružana pobuna Srba u Hrvatskoj i agresija oružanih snaga SFRJ i srpskih paravojnih postrojbi na Republiku Hrvatsku (1990.-1991.), Hrvatska i Domovinski rat 1990.-1995: Dokumenti 1* (Zagreb).
18. **Rupić, M.** (ed.) (2007a): *Dokumenti institucija pobunjenih Srba u Republici Hrvatskoj (1990.-1991.). Hrvatska i Domovinski rat 1990.-1995: Dokumenti 2* (Zagreb & Slavonski Brod).
19. **Spajić-Vrkaš, V.** (1992): *Croatia Discovers Janus* (Zagreb).
20. **Šakić, V. & Kaliterna Lipovčan, Lj.** (2001): *European Integration for the 21st Century* (Zagreb).
21. **Šeparović, Z.** (ed.) (1992): *Documenta Croatica. On Croatian History and Identity and the War Against Croatia* (Zagreb).
22. _____. (ed.) (2000): *Hrvatski žrtvoslov. Zbornik radova* (Zagreb).
23. _____. (ed.) (2002): *Vukovar 2001. Da se ne zaboravi. Zbornik radova*

- (Zagreb).
24. _____. (ed.) (2006): *O žrtvama je riječ*, Zbornik radova. (Zagreb).
 25. **Starešina**, V. (2004): *Vježbe u laboratoriju Balkan* (Zagreb).
 26. _____. (2005): *Haaška formula* (Zagreb).
 27. **Šikić**, N., **Žužul**, M. & **Fattorini**, I. (eds.) (1994): *Stradanja djece u Domovinskom ratu* (Zagreb).
 28. **Zvonarek**, I. (2005): *Geneza teritorijalne pretenzije Srbije prema Hrvatskoj i kršenje ratnih zakona i običaja tijekom Domovinskog rata od strane agresora* (Zagreb).
 29. **Žanić**, I. (1998): *Prevarena povijest: guslarska estrada, kult hajduka i rat u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini 1990.-1995. godine* (Zagreb).
 30. **Živić**, D. (2006): *Stanovništvo Vukovarsko-srijemske županije (odrednice i obilježja demografskih promjena od sredine 19. do početka 21. stoljeća)* (Zagreb - Vukovar).
 31. **Žunec**, O. (1997): *Planet Mina* (Zagreb).
 32. _____. (2007): *Goli život I. i II.: Socijeltalne dimenzije pobune Srba u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb).

List 3: Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Croatia – Biographies

1. **Bekavac**, I. (ed.) (1997): *Dr. Franjo Tuđman. Misao hrvatske slobode od nacionalne ugroženosti do državne samostalnosti (fragmenti, misli i pogledi)* (Zagreb).
2. **Bobetko**, J. (2002): *Sava je ipak potekla prema Zagrebu. Govori, članci, intervjui 1990.-2002.* (Zagreb).
3. **Cvetnić**, R. (1997): *Kratki izlet. Zapisi iz Domovinskog rata* (Zagreb).
4. **Đuretić**, N. (2004): *Iskreno vaš ... zapisi s otoka* (Zagreb).
5. **Gugo**, A. (1995): *Da se ne zaboravi* (Zagreb).
6. **Ježić**, B. (1995): *Dnevnik rata* (Zagreb).
7. **Hartmann**, F. (2002): *Milošević dijagonala luđaka* (Rijeka & Zagreb), originally published as *Milosevic: la diagonale du fou* (Paris, 1999).
8. **Kačić**, H. (2002): *Serving my country. Croatia Revivida* (Zagreb).
9. **Merišnjak**, S. (2002): *Gvordijski čvor* (Zagreb).
10. **Mihanović**, N. (1996): *Na putu do hrvatske državnosti (govori 1990.-1994.)* (Zagreb).
11. **Pavković**, M. (ed.) (2006): *Slobodan Milošević krvnik Balkana. Dokumenti i svjedočanstva* (Varaždin).
12. **Perić**, I. (1995): *Godine koje će se pamtiti* (Zagreb).
13. **Rajter**, V. (1995): *Nebeski ratnici. Uspomene hrvatskog pilota* (Zagreb).
14. **Rumiz**, P. (2002): *Maske za masakr* (Zagreb), originally published as *Maschere un massacro*, 2nd edition (Rome, 2000).
15. **Runtić**, D. (2003): *Prvi hrvatski redarstvenik* (Cerna).
16. **Subotić**, I. (1995): *Ratna priča dragovoljca* (Vinkovci).
17. **Ujević**, D. (2003): *Ministar obrane. Jedno sjećanje na Gojka Šuška* (Zagreb).
18. **Viro**, D. (2007): *Slobodan Milošević – Anatomija zločina* (Zagreb).

List 4: Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Croatia – Memoirs

1. **Blaskovich, J.** (1998): *Anatomija prijave* (Zagreb).
2. **Bobetko, J.** (1996): *Sve moje bitke* (Zagreb).
3. **Boljkovac, J.** (2009): „Istina mora izaći van...” *Sjećanja i zapisi prvog ministra unutarnjih poslova neovisne Hrvatske* (Zagreb).
4. **Borovčak, D.** (2001): *Hello Toronto. Ovdje Zagreb, 1991.-2001.* (Zagreb).
5. **Carević, O.** (1995): *Glas srca i razuma* (Zagreb).
6. _____. (2005): *Dodirnimo zvijezdu prijateljstva* (Zagreb).
7. **Degoricija, S.** (2008): *Nije bilo uzalud* (Zagreb).
8. **Džeba, K.** (1998): *Sudbina novinara-članci, kolumne, intervjui 1990.-1992.* (Zagreb).
9. **Freundlich, M.** (1996): *Kao čitav jedan život – izabrani članci* (Zagreb).
10. **Gotovac, V.** (1995): *Znakovi za Hrvatsku* (Zagreb).
11. **Granić, M.** (2005): *Vanjski poslovi. Iza kulisa politike* (Zagreb).
12. **Gregurić, F.** (1998): *Vlada demokratskog jedinstva Hrvatske 1991.-1992.* (Zagreb).
13. **Gumzej, J.** (1997): *Od balvana do Dayton* (Zagreb).
14. **Hedl, D.** (1993): *Ratne reportaže* (Osijek).
15. **Kačić, H.** (2003): *U službi domovine. Croatia revivida* (Zagreb).
16. **Katinić, K.** (1992): *Mir u kliještima rata. Živjeti i preživjeti rat* (Zagreb).
17. **Manolić, J.** (1995): *Intervjui i javni nastupi 1989.-1995.* (Zagreb).
18. **Milardović, A.** (1992): *Requiem za Jugoslaviju. Komentari i dnevnički 1989.-1992.* (Zagreb).
19. **Mesić, S.** (1994): *Kako je srušena Jugoslavija. Politički memoari* (Zagreb).
20. **Mučalo, M.** (1993): *S Domovinskih bojišta* (Zagreb).
21. **Pečarić, J.** (2002): *Pronađena polovica duše. 10 godina s australskim Hrvatima* (Zagreb).
22. **Rogić, I.N.** (1992): *Peti stupanj prijenosa. Kratka povijest najduže hrvatske godine pisane nedjeljom* (Zagreb).
23. **Rudolf, D.** (1999): *Rat koji nismo htjeli. Hrvatska 1991.* (Zagreb).
24. **Stojanović, J.** (2010): *Tjeskobe. Ratno svjedočanstvo jednog liječnika* (Zagreb).
25. **Svoboda, D.** (2002): *Trik razglednice* (Osijek).
26. **Špegelj, M.** (2001): *Sjećanja vojnika* (Zagreb).
27. **Štefica, Š.** (2006): *Vukovarski zbornik br. 1.* (Vukovar).
28. _____. (2007): *Vukovarski zbornik br. 2.* (Vukovar).
29. **Tudman, F.** (1995): *Zna se. HDZ u borbi za učvršćenje hrvatske državne suverenosti* (Zagreb).
30. _____. (1999): *Hrvatska riječ svijetu. Razgovori sa stranim predstavnicima* (Zagreb).
31. **Vazdar, V.** (1993): *Sjene rata* (Osijek).
32. **Visković, N.** (2003): *Sumorne godine – Nacionalizam, bioetika, globalizacija* (Split).
33. **Vuković, M.** (2003): *Desetljeće koje se pamti – Dnevnički zapisi 1990.-1999.* (Zagreb).

34. Živić, D. (2008): *Vukovarski zbornik 3.* (Vukovar).
35. _____. (2009): *Vukovarski zbornik 4.* (Vukovar).

List 5: Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Croatia – Monographic Editions

1. **Aparac-Gazivoda, T. & Katalenac, D.** (1993): *Wounded Libraries in Croatia* (Zagreb).
2. **Đurić, T.** (1993): 'Ratna sudbina hrvatske tradicijske baštine', *Hrvatsko društvo folkloristike* 1: 1-108.
3. **Ferinac, K.** (ed.) (1991): *Fotomonografija – Varaždinski dani rata* (Varaždin).
4. **Filipović, Z.** (1992): *Dnevnik smrti* (Zagreb).
5. **Ivančević, R.** (1993): *Cultural Heritage of Croatia in the War 1991-1992* (Zagreb).
6. **Jović, J.** (2000): *Sudbonosci. Politički presjek Hrvatske 20. stoljeća* (Split).
7. **Jovičić, Z.** (1993): *Ratni zločini Jugoslavenske armije 1991.-1992.* (London, New York, Toronto, Sydney & Zagreb).
8. **Kapetanović, M.R.** (1997): *Kronologija zbivanja u RH 1989.-1995.* (Zagreb).
9. **Kevo, M.** (1992): *Rat za Hrvatsku: istočnoslavonska ratna kronika.* Vinkovci (Osijek).
10. **Krunpotic, M.** (1998): *Kronologija rata. Agresija na Hrvatsku i Bosnu i Hercegovinu (s naglaskom na stradanja Hrvata u BiH) (1989.-1998.)* (Zagreb).
11. **Kujundžić, M. & Dizdar, Z.** (2000): *Hrvatska borba za opstojnost 1918. - 1998.* (Zagreb).
12. **Maričić, M.** (1994): *Županijski vijenac* (Županja).
13. **Maroević, I.** (1995): *Rat i baština u prostoru Hrvatske* (Zagreb).
14. **Oraić Tolić, D.** (1992): *Hrvatsko ratno pismo 1991/92. Apeli, iskazi, pjesme* (Zagreb).
15. **Perić, I.** (2007): *Suvremena i samostalna Republika Hrvatska* (Zagreb).
16. **Pifat-Mrzljak, G.** (1992): *Nobel Laureates for Peace in Croatia* (Zagreb).
17. **Centar za dokumentaciju o Domovinskom ratu** (1997): *Ratni zločini srpskih vojnih i paravojnih postrojbi u Hrvatskom Podunavlju: 1991. – 1995.* (Vinkovci).
18. **Rehak, D.** (2005): *Nek' ne dođe nitko do prijatelj drag* (Vukovar).
19. **Selak, A.** (1992): *Mass killing and genocide in Croatia 1991/92: A book of evidence (Based upon the evidence of the Division of Information, the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Croatia)* (Zagreb).
20. _____. (1992): *Scientists against the war in Croatia. World Responses to the Ruđer Bošković Institute's Endeavour for Peace in Croatia* (Zagreb).
21. **Slišković, M.** (2005): *Žene u Domovinskom ratu. Snaga ljubavi činiti dobro* (Zagreb).
22. **Soldo, I.** (1992): *Croatia: Hospitals on Target. Deliberate Military Destruction of the Hospitals in Croatia* (Zagreb).
23. **Šaravanja, D.V.** (2002): *10000 djece bez roditelja u Domovinskom ratu* (Gradine).

24. **Croatian Information Centre** (1992): *The War Against Croatia: a chronology of the aggression* (Zagreb & New York).
25. **Topić, D. & Špišić, D.** (1992): *Slavonska krv. Kronologija rata* (Osijek).
26. **Veselica, M.** (2005): *Uskrsnuće Republike Hrvatske od 1990. do Bljeska i Oluje 1995. godine* (Zagreb).
27. **Zgaga, V.** (1997): *War damages to Museums and Galleries in Croatia* (Zagreb).

List 6: Croatian interdisciplinary scientific studies of the Vukovar Battle

1. **Akrap, A.** (1999): 'Koliko Hrvatska ima stanovnika nakon Domovinskog rata', *Društvena istraživanja* 8(5-6): 677-919.
2. **Franc, R.** (1993): 'Rat protiv Hrvatske', *Društvena istraživanja* 2(2-3): 215-566.
3. **Jurčević, J.** (2000): *Vukovar '91. Značenje, vrednote, identitet* (Zagreb).
4. **Jurčević, J., Živić, D. & Esih, B.** (2004): *Vukovar '91. Međunarodni odjeci i značaj* (Zagreb).
5. **Kaliterna, Lj.** (1997): 'Prognana Hrvatska', *Društvena istraživanja* 6(2-3): 193-422.
6. **Kardov, K.** (2004.): 'Stišavanje prošlosti: Vukovar između mjesta i prostora sjećanja'. In: *Nasilno rasturanje Jugoslavije. Uzroci, dinamika, posljedice. Zbornik radova*, ed. M. Hadžić (Beograd): 227-238.
7. **Lamza, V.** (eds.) (1992): 'Javno mnijenje Hrvatske: Izbori 1992.', *Društvena istraživanja* 1(2): 213-354.
8. **Marijan, D.** (2004): *Bitka za Vukovar* (Zagreb & Slavonski Brod).
9. **Štambuk, M.** (ed.) (2008): 'Vukovar-pitanja o budućnosti', *Društvena istraživanja* 1(2): 1-326.
10. **Živić, D. & Žebec, I.** (2007): *Vukovar '91. Vukovar-Hrvatska baština i perspektive razvoja* (Zagreb & Vukovar).
11. _____. (2009): *Vukovar '91. Demografski kontekst i sociokulturne posljedice hrvatskoga Domovinskog rata* (Zagreb & Vukovar).
12. **Živić, D. & Cvikić, S.** (2010): *Mirna reintegracija hrvatskoga Podunavlja: znanstveni, empirijski i iskustveni uvidi* (Zagreb & Vukovar).

List 7: Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Vukovar 1991 - Memoirs

1. **Almaš, M.** (1993): *Drugi put Vukovar* (Vukovar).
2. **Borković, B.** (1995): *Rušitelj ustavnog poretka* (Zagreb).
3. **Božićević, M.** (1997): *Hranite ili ubijte: 45 dana u srpskom logoru u Borovo Selo: 2. srpnja-15. kolovoza 1991.* (Zagreb).
4. **Crlenjak, B.** (ed.) (1995): *Dimenzije zločina počinjenih u Vukovaru 1991. godine* (Zagreb).
5. **Crnjac, S.** (1994): *Vukovar i poslije njega* (Zagreb).
6. **Fedorovsky, S. & Kliment, Ž.** (1992): *Vukovarski dobrovoljac* (Zagreb).
7. **Glavašević, S.** (1992): *Priče iz Vukovara* (Zagreb).

8. **Gurguri, H.** (2009): *Vapaj oko Vukovara* (Gislaved).
9. **Katanić, J.** (1994): *Glas iz Vukovara* (Varaždinske Toplice).
10. **Lang, S. & Ivanković, V.** (2005): *Pružena ruka. Hrvatski „Pravednici“.* *Djela dobra u ratu* (Zagreb).
11. **Miljković, M.** (2000): *Vukovarski deveti krug* (Zaprešić).
12. **Nekić, N.** (1999): *Vukovarske elegije* (Zagreb).
13. **Plavšić, D.** (1994): *Zapisi iz srpskih logora* (Zagreb).
14. **Prkačin, N.** (1993): *Tamo gdje nema rata* (Vinkovci).
15. **Raić, A. & Vučak, I.** (eds.) (1992): *Medicinska svjedočenja o vukovarskoj tragediji* (Zagreb).
16. **Rogić Nehajev, I.** (1998): *Smaragdni brid. Vukovar '91. i hrvatski identitet* (Zagreb).
17. **Runtić, D.** (1999): *Vukovar 1991 Vinkovci. Ratne kronike* (Vinkovci).
18. **Šakić, V.** (1997): *Načelo Vukovar. Bilješke za imaginarnu povijest vukovarske Hrvatske* (Zagreb).
19. **Viro, D.** (ed.) (2002): *Priče iz Domovinskog rata* (Zagreb).
20. **Croatian Information Service** (1992): *Vukovar – An Eye-Witness Account of Medical Staff* (Zagreb).

List 8: Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Vukovar 1991 - Monographic Editions

1. **Biro, Š.** (1993): *Organizacija i djelatnost stomatološke službe u ratnoj epopeji Medicinskog centra Vukovar* (Zagreb).
2. _____. (ed.) (2000): *Vukovarska bolnica* (Vinkovci).
3. **Hrvatski informativni centar** (1992): *Bolnica na meti* (Zagreb).
4. **Brozović, P.** (2004): *Između života – monografija* (Vukovar).
5. **Crljenjak, B.** (ed.) (1995): *Vukovar – ponos Hrvatske* (Zagreb).
6. **Dedaković-Jastrebo, M., Mirković-Nad, A. & Runtić, D.** (1997): *Bitka za Vukovar* (Vinkovci).
7. **Filipović, Z.** (2006): *Dnevnik smrti 1991. – integralno* (Sarajevo).
8. **Hekman, J., Bratulić, J. & Pal, A.** (eds.) (2001): *Spomenica MH u povodu desete obljetnice vukovarske tragedije 1991.-2001.* (Zagreb).
9. **Horvat, V.** (ed.) (1996): *Gdje su naši najmiliji?* (Zagreb).
10. _____. (1999): *Suzama do istine* (Zagreb).
11. _____. (ed.) (2001): *Deset godina nade i boli 1991.-2001.* (Zagreb).
12. **Karaman, I.** (ed.) (1994): *Vukovar-vjekovni hrvatski grad na Dunavu* (Zagreb).
13. **Kosec, B. & Perković, A.** (2009): *Kronika franjevačkog samostana u Vukovaru – godine progonstva i povratka* (Zagreb & Vukovar).
14. **Mate, S.** (ed.) (1992): *Croatia – Vukovar* (Zagreb).
15. **Pavković, M.** (ed.) (2002a): *Apeli dr. Vesne Bosanac* (Koprivnica & Vukovar).
16. _____. (2002b): *Sveto ime Vukovar – Fotografije* (Zagreb).
17. **Pole, S., Dudić, M., Đukić, Ž., Radoš, Z. & Dasović, I.** (2008): *„Jake snage MUP-a“ – Policija u obrani Vukovara 1991.* (Vinkovci).
18. **Rehak, D.** (2007): *Borovsko nebo čisto jesmo li te voljeli svi isto* (Vukovar).
19. _____. (ed.) (2003): *Život za domovinu* (Vukovar).

20. **Stockinger, T.** (2004): *Vukovar-grad koji je obranio Hrvatsku. Jedan prikaz najsudbonosnije bitke hrvatske povijesti* (Zagreb).
21. **Šafer, M.** (2009): *Vukovarska elegija. Kud narodna vojska krene...* (Samobor).

List 9: Vukovar 1991 personal narrations - Autobiographies

1. **Fulgosi, Lj. & Vince-Ribarić, V.** (eds.) (1993): *Stotinu svjedočanstava – Potresni iskazi hrvatskih prognanika i logoraša* (Zagreb).
2. **Janjić-Tromblon, P.** (2004): *Žedni krvi gladni izdaje* (Zagreb).
3. **Jelić, D.** (1997): *Pogled u nepovrat u srbijansko-četničkim logorima* (Pazin).
4. **Jurić, Ž.** (2004): *Moja rijeka suza* (Koprivnica & Vukovar).
5. **Kiefer-Helin, I.** (1993): *Vukovarska balada: rat i ljubav* (Vinkovci).
6. _____. (1995): *Suživot, mir i dobro-lojalno i lokalno* (Osijek).
7. **Kovačević, M.** (2002): *Pseće sunce* (Vinkovci).
8. **Kumpf, S.** (1999): *Pod znakom križnog puta* (Vukovar).
9. **Matić-Fred, P.** (2001): *Ništa lažno* (Zagreb).
10. _____. (2008): *Ništa lažno*, 5th edition (Zagreb).
11. **Matiković-Lasta, I.** (1998): *Bogdanovci vrata Vukovara* (Zagreb).
12. **Medimurec, M.** (2004): *Piše Sunja Vukovaru. Istinite priče iz Domovinskog rata* (Zagreb).
13. **Majoros, S.** (2004): *Umrijeti kod Vukovara* (Zagreb).
14. **Plavšić, F.** (1996): *Samo nek ne bude uzalud* (Vinkovci).
15. **Rehak, D.** (2000): *Putevima pakla kroz srpske koncentracijske logore 1991... u 21. stoljeće* (Zagreb).
16. **Runtić, D.** (1995): *Tako smo branili Vukovar* (Vinkovci).
17. _____. (2002): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 1* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
18. _____. (2003): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 2* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
19. _____. (2003): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 3* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
20. _____. (2003): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 4* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
21. _____. (2004): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 5* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
22. _____. (2004): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 6* (Vinkovci-Samobor).
23. _____. (2004): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 7* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
24. _____. (2005): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 8* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
25. _____. (2005): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 9* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
26. _____. (2005): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 10* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
27. _____. (2006): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 11* (Vinkovci & Samobor).

28. _____. (2006): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 12* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
29. _____. (2007): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 13* (Vinkovci & Samobor).
30. _____. (2008): *Junaci Domovinskog rata. Ratne priče iz Domovinskog rata. Knjiga 14* (Vinkovci & Šibenik).
31. _____. (2008): *Vukovar i istočno bojište* (Varaždin).
32. **Sablić, M.** (2000): *Posljednja presuda „u ime naroda“* (Zagreb).
33. **Slonje-Šved, I.** (1994a): *Ne pucaj prvi* (Vinkovci).
34. _____. (1994b): *Pakao Vukovara* (Vinkovci).
35. **Tomičić, Z.** (2006): *Vukovarski žuti mravi. Pripovijesti* (Zagreb).
36. **Vorgić, D.** (1996): *Sjećanja jednog logoraša* (Zagreb).

List 10: Vukovar 1991 personal narrations - Diaries

1. **Antunović, D.** (1998): *Od kalvarije do pakla: dnevnik jednog Vukovarca* (Zagreb).
2. **Brozović, P.** (2003): *Čuvari Vukovara*. 2 Volumes (Cerna).
3. _____. (2008): *Čuvari Vukovara*, 2nd edition (Cerna).
4. **Gaunt, S.** (1995): *Rat i pivo* (Vinkovci).
5. **Marić, A.** (2009): *Halo Mama! Ratni dnevnik i progon iz Vukovar* (Vukovar).
6. **Mirković, A.** (1997): *91,6 MhZ Glasom protiv topova* (Zagreb).
7. **Mravak, I.** (1993): *Svjetlost Vukovara* (Zagreb).
8. **Nazor, A.** (2008): *Grad je bio meta: Bolnica, Dom umirovljenika ... (agresija Srbije, odnosno JNA i srpsko-crnogorskih snaga na Republiku Hrvatsku i srpska okupacija Vukovara 1991.)* (Zagreb).
9. **Njavro, J.** (1995): *Glave dolje ruke na leđa* (Zagreb).
10. **Runtić, D.** (1994): *Rat prije rata. Vinkovci-Vukovar 11. siječnja-11. rujna 1991.* (Vinkovci).
11. **Smek, M.** (1995): *Vukovarski dnevnik Marije Smek. Dnevnik holokausta na hrvatskom Dunavu* (Zagreb).
12. **Steigner, J.** (1997): *Posljednji Vukovarac* (Osijek).
13. **Šarić, Z.** (1995): *Dnevnik jednog logoraša* (Vinkovci).
14. **Šimunović, Z.** (1995): *Vukovarski dnevnik* (Zagreb).
15. _____. (2003): *Vukovarski dnevnik*. (Zagreb).

Appendix 2

Table 1: International popular and scholarly work on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia (List No. 1)

Reference	Publication number according to the List no.1.	Total
Sections	2, 9, 18, 31, 37	5
Pages	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41	36

Table 2: Domestic popular and scholarly work on Yugoslavia's dissolution and war in Croatia (List No.2)

Reference	Publication number according to the List no.2.	Total
Sections	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 27	14
Pages	6, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32	18

Table 3: Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Croatia – Biographies (List No. 3)

Reference	Publication number according to the List no.3	Total
Sections	2, 5, 8, 9	4
Pages	1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18	14

Table 4: Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Croatia –
Memoirs (List No. 4)

Reference	Publication number according to the List no.4.	Total
Sections	1, 2, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 34, 35	14
Pages	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33	21

Table 5: Personal narrations and chronicles of war in Croatia –
Monographic Editions (List No. 5)

Reference	Publication number according to the List no.5.	Total
Sections	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26	22
Pages	9, 11, 19, 20, 27	5

Table 6: Popular and Scholarly Work Referring to Vukovar 1991 Battle
according to lists

Year	List 1	List 2	List 3	List 4	List 5	List 6	List 7	List 8	List 9	List 10	Total
1991.	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
1992.	1	4	0	3	9	1	4	2	0	0	24
1993.	1	2	0	3	4	1	2	1	2	1	17
1994.	2	1	0	1	1	0	3	1	2	1	12
1995.	3	0	5	4	1	0	2	1	2	5	23
1996.	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	2	1	11
1997.	4	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	18
1998.	2	1	0	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	10
1999.	1	1	0	2	0	1	2	1	1	0	9
2000.	6	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	2	0	14
2001.	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	8
2002.	5	3	5	2	1	0	1	2	2	0	20
2003.	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	1	3	2	12
2004.	4	2	1	0	0	3	0	2	7	0	19
2005.	2	2	0	2	3	0	1	0	3	0	13
2006.	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	9
2007.	3	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	12
2008.	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	3	2	11
2009.	2	0	0	2	0	1	1	2	0	1	9
2010.	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
	41	32	18	35	27	12	20	21	36	16	258

Appendix 3

Figure 1

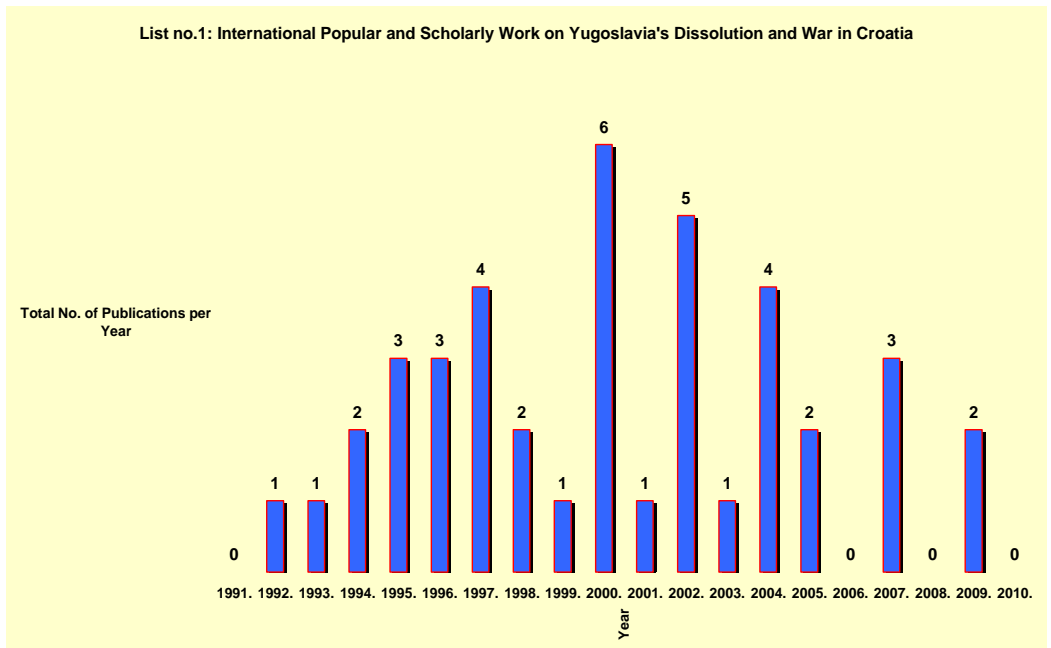


Figure 2

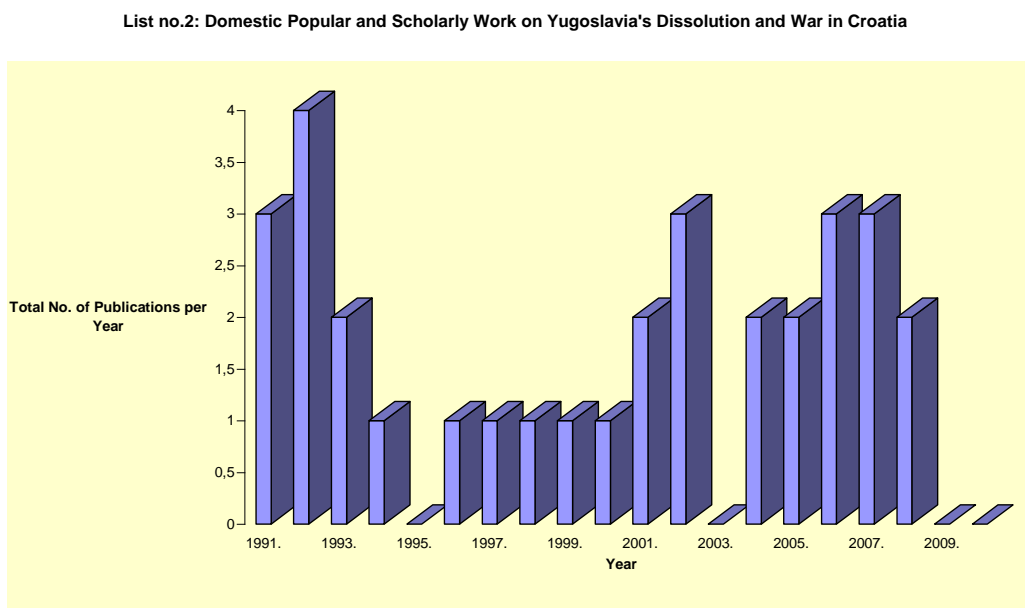


Figure 3

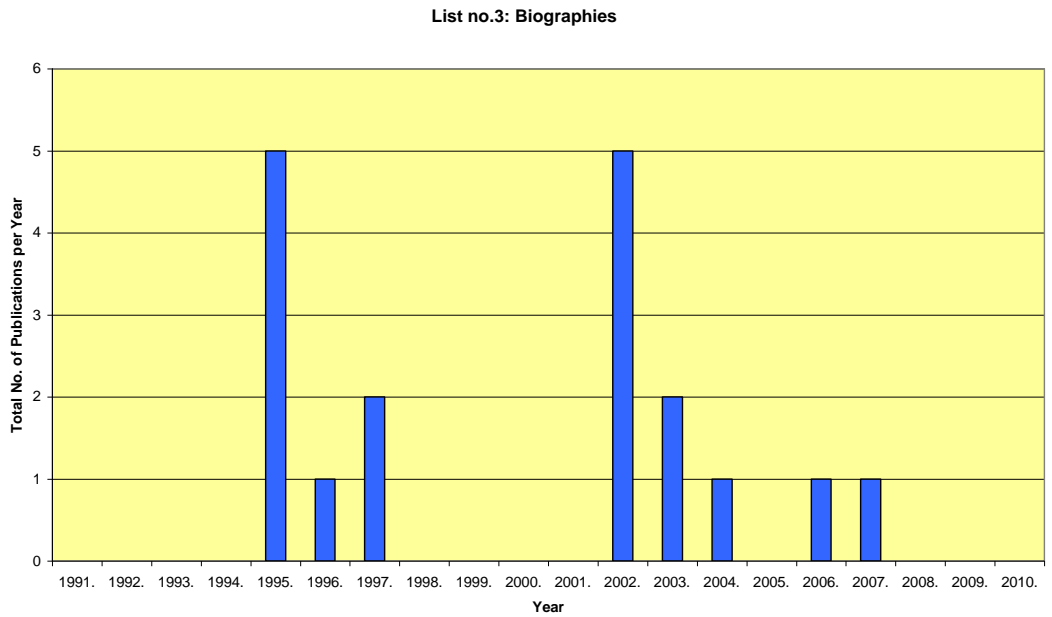


Figure 4

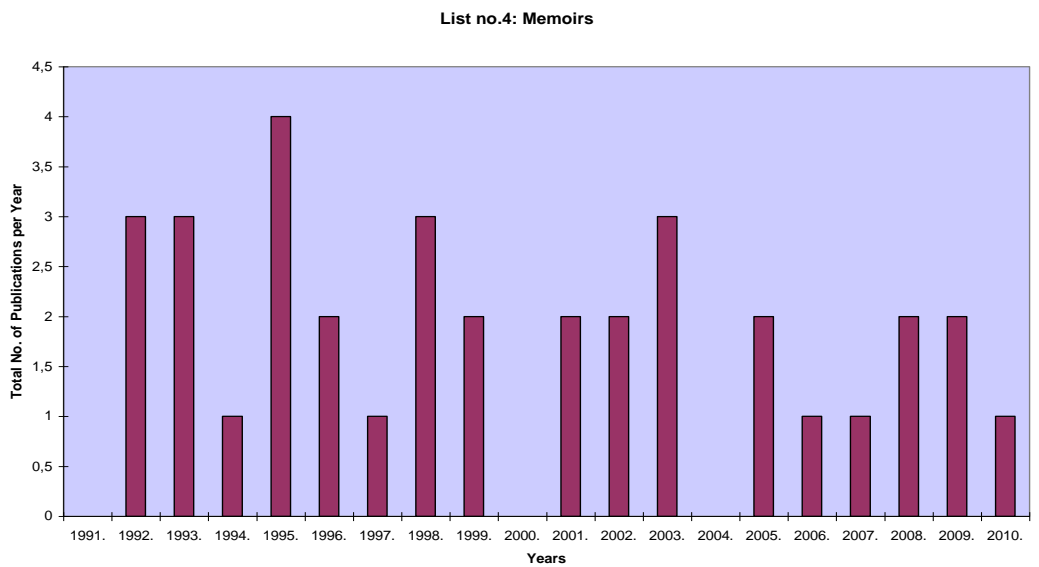


Figure 5

List no.5: Monographic Editions

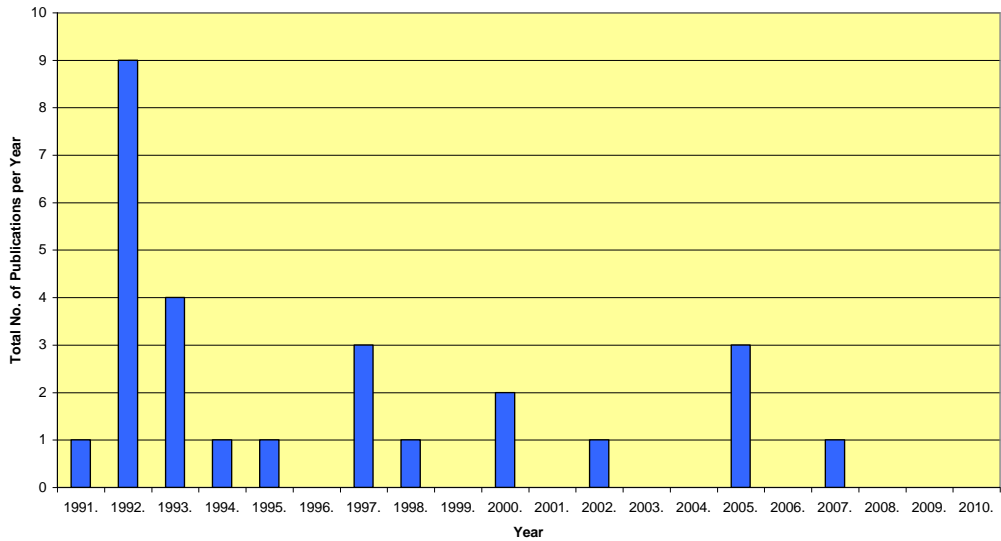


Figure 6

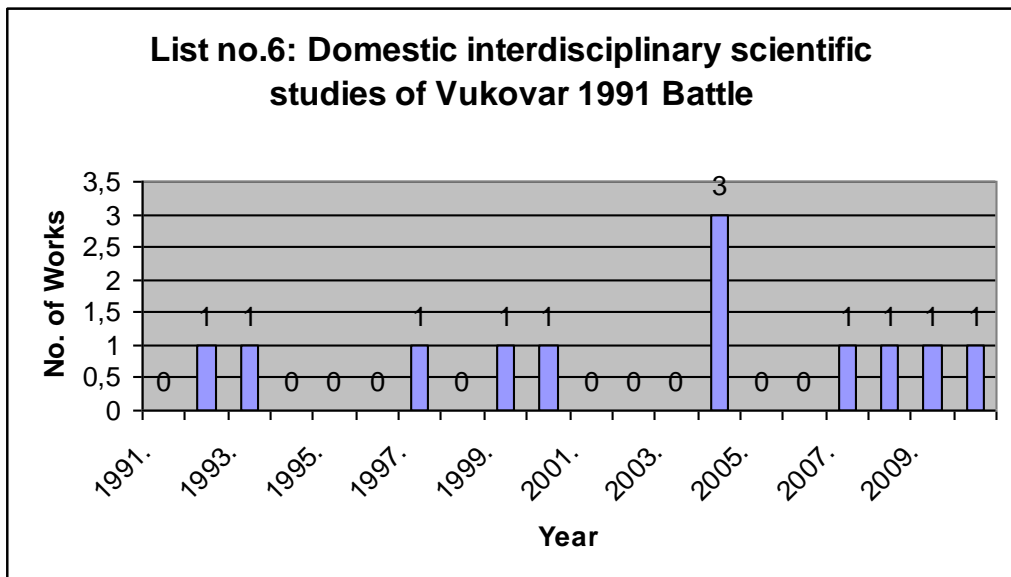


Figure 7

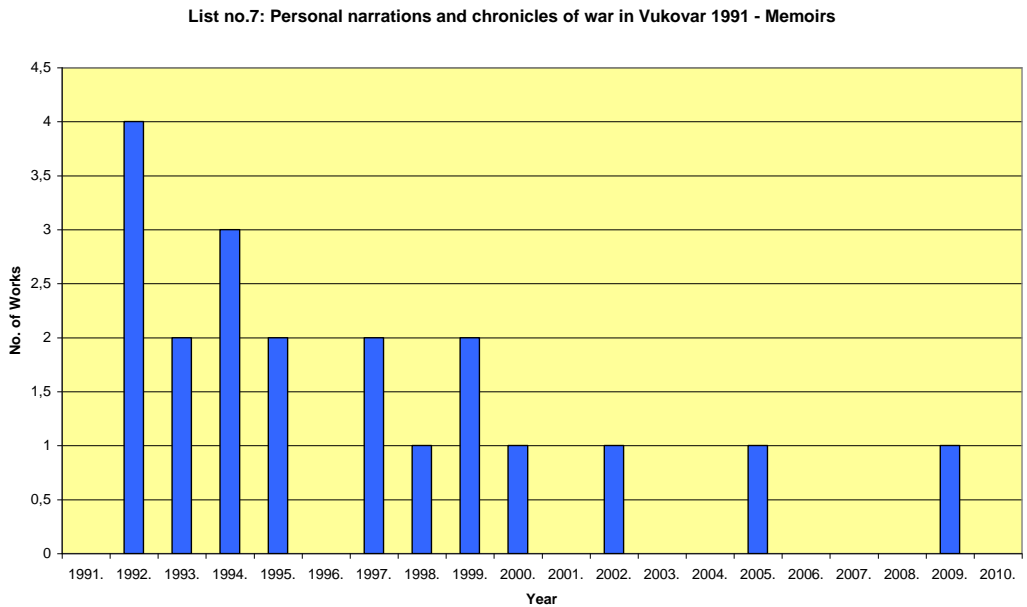


Figure 7

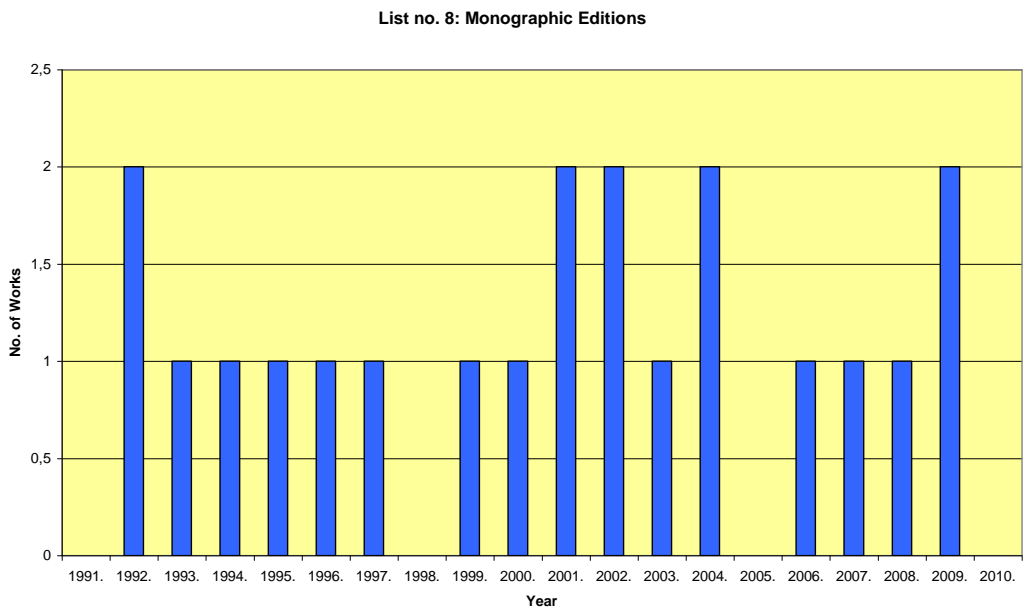


Figure 9

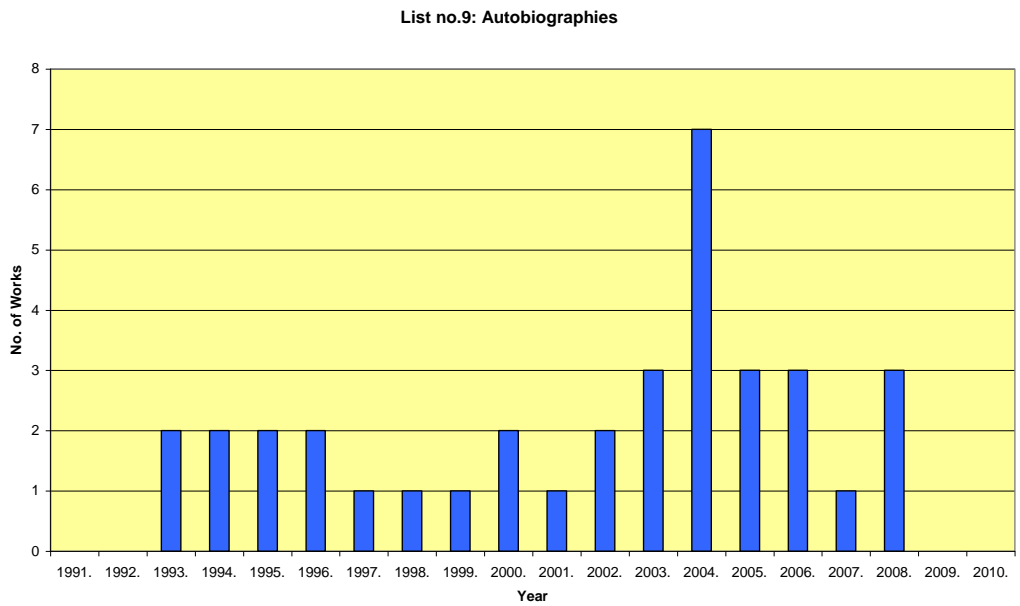


Figure 10

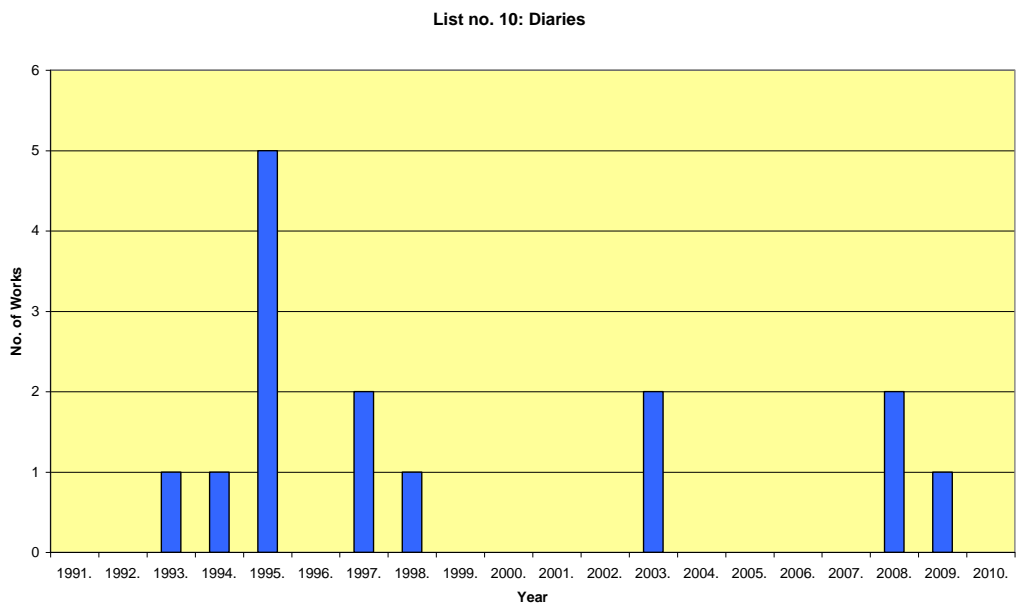


Figure 11

